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THE STORY OF
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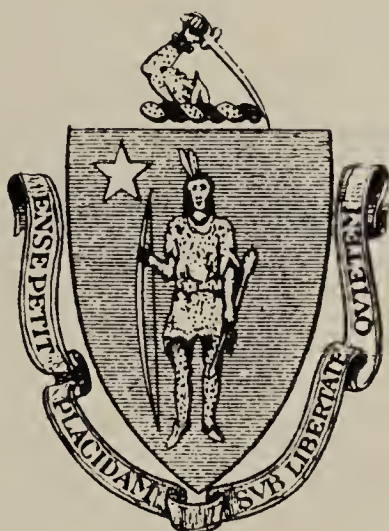


First Church of Christ, Springfield

THE STORY OF Western Massachusetts

Author and Editor

HARRY ANDREW WRIGHT



VOLUME I

LEWIS HISTORICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

NEW YORK

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HARRY A. WRIGHT

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CHAPTER I

Massachusetts Land Titles

IN THE year 1271, a Venetian gentleman named Nicolo Polo, with his brother Maffeo and his son Marco Polo, set out on a journey to the Far East and arrived at the court of Kublai Khan in 1275. There Marco Polo, then twenty-one years old, was employed by the Khan as an envoy and ambassador to neighboring rulers and he continued in that service for seventeen years. Thus he learned of Cathay and the Spice Islands and wonders almost beyond belief. The travelers arrived home in 1295 to find Venice and Genoa at war and it fell to the lot of Marco to be detained in a Genoese prison where he dictated the story of his adventures. The narrative created much interest, though many affirmed that it was pure fiction. Nevertheless, his work was of inestimable value as a stimulant and guide to geographical research. It encouraged the Portuguese to find the way around the Cape of Good Hope to Hindustan and it roused in Columbus the passion for exploration, thus leading to the two greatest of modern geographical discoveries. To reach "the lands where the spices grow", became the obsession of Columbus that resulted in the finding of America.

It is difficult for the modern generation to comprehend that early crucial need for spices. Today, youth turns one switch to heat his home and another to cool and preserve his food. He has a subconscious recollection that the refrigerator of his grandfather was cooled by natural ice, harvested in winter and stored for summer use, and he assumes that such was the custom from the beginning of time.

It is true that the early Greeks and Romans preserved snow closely packed in underground cellars. At a later period, Nero established icehouses in Rome similar to those familiar in New England in modern times. But the problem of transportation limited the luxury to the wealthy. It was left for a Massachusetts Yankee, Frederic Tudor, to devise a successful method of transportation and storage of natural ice. About 1820 he supplied ice to Havana at a price so reasonable that eventually he extended his operations to a great part of the civilized world, but even then, the cost was beyond the means of the average person.

A suggestion of conditions in the Mediterranean countries is found in the 1888 edition of the *International Encyclopedia*, where under

the head of butter, the reader is told that the "Greeks and Romans used butter only as an ointment in their baths. In southern Europe, at the present time, butter is sparingly used and in Italy, Spain, Portugal and southern France it is sold by apothecaries as a medicinal agent for external application". And this was only sixty years ago, but for lack of some preserving system it could not have been otherwise.

Under such conditions, the 15th century purveyor of foods was beset with many problems. Fish and flesh might be partially preserved by salting or smoking but that left much to be desired. Meat to a great extent and fish to an even greater degree, came to the table in such a state of putrefaction that it was necessary to disguise the foulness with pungent spices. These were not mere garnishings of delicacies to tempt jaded appetites but were used solely to make filthy messes palatable. To Marco Polo and Columbus, spices were not luxuries but sheer necessities; one of the important staple articles of commerce.

While Columbus was still sailing about the Caribbean Sea, under the impression that he had reached Asia and wholly unaware of the immensity of his discovery, astute men were endeavoring to profit by the situation. On March 3, 1496, King Henry VII of England granted to John Cabot permission to seek out lands beyond the seas. On August 6, 1497, Cabot returned to Bristol harbor in the ship *Matthew* from the first discovery of the American continent, thus giving effective title to the British crown and that title so continued. On March 4, 1629, King Charles I granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter confirming to its members, ownership of the lands which, after consolidation with the Plymouth Colony, became approximately the lands of the present state of Massachusetts. After taking possession of those lands, came the locating of the various "plantations" or towns, through which title passed into private hands.

In the year 1933, there died in Springfield, Massachusetts, a man whose forebears had been active in the community for nearly three centuries. Newspaper obituaries referred to his pioneer ancestor, "to whom the king of England granted a tract of land that extended from the Connecticut River to Armory Hill". In 1946, an associate of an organization engaged in promoting the advantages of the Connecticut Valley called attention to a family "still living on the lands granted to their people by King George III". Such absurdities might well be ignored were they not repeated and echoed until they have become accepted as truths.

While the Springfield pioneer in question was a most worthy citizen he was but a peasant farmer who was never in position to associate with royalty or to be the recipient of regal favors. Springfield records show definitely what his land holdings were and the sum he paid for them, precisely as did his neighbors and fellows. The local *Book of Possessions*; Springfield's *Doomsday Book* gives ample evidence that on his admittance as a citizen, the town allotted him a house lot, eight rods wide and two hundred rods long, extending from

the Connecticut River easterly to the top of the hill, the north line of the tract being approximately the south line of the present State Street. In addition, he was granted $24\frac{1}{2}$ acres of planting ground west of the Connecticut, giving him a total of $34\frac{1}{2}$ acres; hardly a kingly domain and but a tiny spot in a vast wilderness; too insignificant ever to come to the attention of his sovereign.

The lands thus granted by the town were a part of the tract which, with the authority of the Massachusetts Bay Company, had been bought from the Indians in 1636 by William Pynchon as promoter of the new settlement that became Springfield. It had been agreed that Pynchon should be reimbursed for his outlay by the individuals sharing in the division of the lands, and to that end an assessment was made in 1647 against the entire citizenry, to provide the required thirty pounds. This was a pro rata division based on the acreage held by each of the forty-two townsmen. This settler's share for his $34\frac{1}{2}$ acres was nine shillings, six pence, which today would be the equivalent of somewhat less than two dollars, or not quite six cents an acre. This was his total expense for securing a partnership in a community enterprise, including title to his land and the right to participate in future divisions of outlying lands.

As to the reputed grant by King George III, it is self-evident that long before he came to the throne, English kings had relinquished all sovereign rights to lands in Massachusetts and the king could not make a single valid grant there.

The American system for preserving evidence of land ownership was born of necessity. In England, the seller of realty delivered to the buyer, a written conveyance or deed. With this, the seller also passed on to the buyer, the deed whereby he became owner of the property and all other prior deeds including theoretically, a complete chain of transfers back to the *Doomsday Book* of the year 1086, on which all titles rested. These deeds, perhaps brought together into a little packet and tied with red tape, were deposited for safe keeping in the muniment room of the owner or left in the custody of the family attorney.

This worked well in a country where substantial buildings were the rule, but the thatched-roofed, wooden structures of New England offered scant protection from fire and theft. After a series of disastrous fires, the Massachusetts General Court in 1640, "for avoiding fraudulent conveyances and that every man may know what estate or interest men may have in any houses, lands or other hereditaments they are to deal in" it was "ordered that there be one appointed in each shire to enter all grants, sales, bargains and mortgages of houses, lands, rents and all other hereditaments, together with the names of grantor and grantee, thing and estate granted and the date thereof".

Those records were supplemented by what came to be known as the *Book of Possessions*, counterpart of the English *Doomsday Book*, which purported briefly to list the realty holding of all citizens. A typical example would read something as follows:

“John Doe is possessed by grant of the plantation of a house lot four rods by fifty rods, extending from the street to the river”.

“Also of a wood-lot opposite”.

“He is further possessed by purchase from Richard Roe of ten acres of pasture by Agawam river”.

“By gift from his father, six acres of meadow lying under Round Hill. This meadow John Doe sold and forever passed away to Thomas Cooper on July 4, 1658”.



Champlain's Map of Plymouth Harbor Illustrating His Expedition of 1605

Had the intent of the General Court been fully complied with, the result would have been a comprehensive record, but speculation was rampant and sales of frequent occurrence. John Pyncheon, the largest land owner in the valley, who should have set an example, was woefully lax. With him, all that came to his hands represented merely pounds, shillings and pence, and land was merely another chattel. On his ledger, a debtor might be credited for a cow; for labor, or “by his lot on Wharf Lane”. It was all one and the same to the Lord of the Manor. Many of his holdings went wholly unrecorded and many of his unrecorded deeds still exist. His laxity left frequent breaks in the records and only by a tedious search through his voluminous ledgers can a search for some of those older titles be completed.

Historians of a former generation have provided a picture of 17th century New England so at variance with the facts as to seem almost malicious. We are told that here were natives who wrote

letters, painted pictures and discoursed on astronomy. It is said that having commercial dealings with their fellows in western America, well defined roads were provided to facilitate trading operations. We are asked to believe that the natives of New England lived in tepees such as were used by the Indians of the West.

Supposedly, the English here found an impenetrable forest. Such growth as has been described as prevailing here exists only in the tropics. Minute descriptions are given of the log cabins said to have been built here by the Pilgrims and the Puritans. The distortion has been so thorough and complete as to be beyond credence.

That the reader may more readily comprehend the conditions encountered here by the first settlers, the ensuing seven chapters are provided.

CHAPTER II

Primitive Forests

IN THE mind of the average individual, southern New England of the early 17th century was a vast forest of giant trees; an impassable wilderness. As described in *Roads and Road-Making in Colonial Connecticut* (Yale University Press, 1933), "instead of open spaces and comparatively small growth, it was filled with giant trees, soaring to a height of a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet and ranging from two to five feet in diameter. Only when a tree reached a diameter of six or eight feet did it attract the attention of travellers. Furthermore the earth was encumbered with fallen logs in all stages of decomposition, over which grew a thicket of vines and underbrush where men could not go upright but had to creep through bushes for whole day's marches, and impossible for horses to go at any time of the year. As the moisture evaporated slowly, great swamps and weedy ponds formed where there is now dry land".

Actually, it was a country of wide open spaces. Today it probably comprises far more wooded area than when the Pilgrims landed.

This was not a natural condition, but the face of the country had been altered by two forces; the Indian and the beaver. The Indian was a persistent destroyer of all forest growth while the first settlers could thank the beaver for a great part of what timber was preserved for their use.

Numerous recorders testify to the facts and the reasons for the conditions which they found.

In 1524, Verrazzano was at Narragansett Bay, where he "often went five or six leagues into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as is possible to conceive. There are open plains twenty five or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free from trees or other hindrances. On entering the woods we observed that they might be traversed by an army ever so numerous".

Capt. John Smith was off the Massachusetts coast in 1614. In the vicinity of Cape Ann he saw "many rising hills and on their tops and descents, many corn fields and delightful groves. Cape Cod is only a headland of high hills of sand, overgrown with shrubby pines, hurts (*i. e.*, huckleberries), and such trash."

At Salem, in 1629, Francis Higginson said:—"I am told that about three miles from us a man may stand on a hilly place and see

divers thousands of acres of ground, as good as may be and not a tree in the same”.

From Salem also, in 1629, Thomas Graves reported:—“it is very beautiful in open lands, mixed with goodly woods and again open plains, in some places five hundred acres; some places more, some less. The grass and weeds grow up to a man’s face, in the lowlands and by fresh rivers abundance of grass and large meadows without any tree or shrub to hinder the sythe”.

At Lord Baltimore’s Plantation, in Maryland, in 1634 the adventurers noted the “great curiosity of woods which are not choked up with under shrubs, but set commonly, one from another, in such distance as a coach and four horses may easily travel through them”.

William Wood, in 1634, said that “the timber of the country grows straight and tall, some trees being twenty, some thirty foot high, before they spread their branches; generally the trees be not very thick, though there be many that will serve for mill posts, some being three foot and a half o’re. And whereas, it is generally conceived that the woods grow so thick, that there is no more clear ground than is hewed out by labor of man; it is nothing so; in many places divers acres being clear, so that one may ride a hunting in most places of the land. There is no underwood saving in swamps and low grounds, for it being the custom of the Indians to burn the wood in November, when the grass is withered, and leaves dried, it consumes all the underwood and rubbish, which otherwise would overgrow the country, making it unpassable, and spoil their much affected hunting; so that by this means, in those places where the Indians inhabit, there is scarce a bush or bramble, or any cumbersom underwood to be seen in the more champion ground. Small wood growing in these places where the fire could not come, is preserved”. He added that there was good fodder in the woods, the trees being thin, and in the spring the grass grew rapidly on the burnt lands.

Thomas Morton, in his *New English Canaan* (1637), said that “the savages are accustomed to set fire of the country and to burn it twice a year; at the spring and the fall of the leaf. The reason is because it would otherwise be so overgrown with underweeds that it would be all a coppice wood and the people would not be able to pass through the country out of a beaten path. The burning of the grass destroys the underwoods and so scorseth the elder trees that it shrinks them and hinders their growth very much, so that he who will find large trees and good timber must seek for them in the lower grounds where the grounds are wet and if he would endeavor to find any goodly cedars, must make his inquest for them in the valleys, for the savages, by this custom of theirs, have spoiled all the rest; for this custom hath been continued from the beginning. And lest the firing of the country should be an occasion of damnifying us and endangering our habitations, we ourselves have used carefully about the same times to observe the winds and fire the grounds about our own habitations to prevent the damage that might happen by any neglect thereof, if the fire should come near those houses in our ab-

sence. For, when the fire is once kindled, it spreads itself as well against, as with the wind, burning continually night and day, until a shower of rain falls to quench it. And this custom of firing the country is the means to make it passable, and by that means the trees grow here and there, as in our parks, and makes the country very beautiful and commodious”.

Van der Donck was at New Netherlands about 1653 and observed that “the Indians have a yearly custom, which some of our Christians have adopted, of burning the woods, plains and meadows, in the fall of the year, when the leaves have fallen and the grass is dry. This brush-burning (*i. e.*, of the Europeans) as it is called, is done to render hunting easier and to make the grass grow. Green trees in the woodlands do not suffer much”.

The phrasing of these accounts suggests that burnings by the Europeans were foreign to their custom before coming to America, but they certainly were common practice after coming. Vincent, (1638), relates “that the lieutenant of the fort at Saybrook, with ten men armed, went out to fire the meadows and make them fit for mowing”. The lieutenant himself (Lionel Gardiner) said that “the 22nd of February, I went out with ten men, and three dogs, half a mile from the house, to burn the weeds, leaves and reeds, upon the neck of land”.

Though data is lacking to justify a positive statement, there are indications that in New England, these fires did not extend north of the Merrimac nor west of the Connecticut, nevertheless, of the country in the vicinity of the Lachine Rapids, on the St. Lawrence River, in 1603, Champlain said that “the territory on the side of the fall, where we went overland, consists, so far as we saw it, of very open woods, where one can go with his armor, without much difficulty”.

In concluding these citations of forest firings, it should be observed that the burning of forests and grasslands was a universal custom among aboriginal people, not only in America, but in many other regions of the world as well.

It seems probable, also, that fires were frequent even before Indian occupancy. Such fires could have been started by lightning striking the dead wood in hollow trees, from which a general conflagration could have been kindled. In Idaho, in 1935, a local thunderstorm lasted less than two hours, but touched off 107 separate fires. Only the alertness of the Forest Service and Civilian Conservation Corps prevented a major catastrophe. It can confidently be assumed that fire has been a constant attendant of dry woods from time immemorial.

In some localities, as on Cape Cod, the continual burnings destroyed even the humus and duff. On the 1794 map of Springfield, a district of several square miles is designated as “pine barrens interspersed with unimprovable swamps”. These pines were stunted, scrubby, pitch pines. Scattered among them were grey birches which attained little height before being broken by ice or wind storms. So it was then and so it is today. The soil was so thoroughly depleted,

[illegible]

Dutch Map of Connecticut Valley

writer has had an intimate acquaintance with these trees and is confident that in that period, their growth has been in inches only, so little plant food is available.

In Massachusetts, in modern times, during the fall hunting season, forest fires frequently become such a menace that the season is closed by the authorities. Town fire departments, unable to cope with the situation, impress workers and with volunteers, labor until the fires are extinguished, after burning over hundreds, if not thousands, of acres. In Oregon, in 1933, an accidental fire, starting in a logging camp, roared through the finest stand of virgin timber in the state. An army of three thousand men fought the fire for seventeen days.

That single fire destroyed more timber than the total lumber output of the United States for an entire year. In 1937, 150,000 forest fires in the United States devastated more than forty million acres of timberlands. That is, in one year, fire utterly destroyed the forest of more than four times the combined area of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. This, in modern times, in spite of all efforts toward protection and conservation. One in close touch with these episodes can imagine the result if no one was interested in halting the conflagration and even aided and abetted its continuance.

Sparseness of wood growth is also indicated by the efforts required to procure the immense amounts of wood required for domestic fuel. Josselyn, in 1637, said that "the number of ships that transported passengers to New England was 298, supposed; men, women and children, as near as can be guessed, 21,200". Allowing five to a family, this would total over 4,000 families. Records of allowances made to ministers in various New England communities make it apparent that the average family used fifty cords of wood a year. Thus, these four thousand families would require 200,000 cords a year. Not for just one year, but for each and every year; an appalling drain on the meager resources of the country. It is not surprising that in 1699, Northampton, Massachusetts, considered "the great difficulty we are in to get firewood".

In comparison, a statement of Emerson (1846) is of interest. He said that "pitch pine is preferred to any other wood in the northern states as fuel for steam engines and vast quantities are also consumed for the supply of families". The estimated annual consumption by Massachusetts railroads at that time was 53,710 cords, which was almost entirely pitch pine.

The present site of Boston was so devoid of forest that for fuel the settlers were forced to rely on the wooded, fire-free islands off shore. So usual was this custom that common measure was not by the cord or cart load, but by the boat load. The "Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts" (1648) provided "that where wood is brought to any town or house, by boat, it shall be thus accounted. A boat of four tons shall be accounted three loads; twelve ton, nine loads; twenty ton, fifteen loads".

Capt. John Smith (1614) said "Oak is the chief wood". Morton, (1632) in his list of New England trees gave greatest prominence to oak, walnut and chestnut. Wood (1634) said that the "chief and common timber for ordinary use is oak and walnut". The white pine, hemlock, maple and beech, all sensitive to fire, apparently were unnoticeable, being restricted to the swampy areas.

Obviously, centuries of extensive burnings would tend to make the fire-resistant oaks the "chief wood", where any forest existed.

With the dispersal of the Indians, a paradoxical problem confronted the white occupants of the land. Burnings by the settlers were frowned on and greatly restricted by the authorities. The "Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts" (1648) reads,—"whosoever shall kindle any fires in woods or grounds lying in common or

inclosed, so as the same shall run into such corn grounds or inclosures, before the tenth of the first month (March) or after the last of the second month (April 30) or on the last day of the week, or on the Lord's day shall pay all damages and half so much for a fine''.

In consequence, where natural conditions were at all favorable, woodlands and pastures rapidly became overgrown with brush. Then the era of the brush scythe and the grub hoe.

The territory now comprised in Northfield, Massachusetts, was, in the early 17th century, occupied by the Squakheag Indians and they were in possession as late as 1669, when in consequence of the failure of an expedition against the Mohawks, the tract was abandoned. Two years later, Northampton people petitioned for permission to occupy the territory and pointed out that "for want of inhabitants to burn the meadows and woods, the underwoods increase, which will be very prejudicial to those that shall come to inhabit, and the longer the worse".

When freed from destruction by the Indians, the forest shortly became economic value, as will be seen in the following table, giving the average age at which various trees attain certain diameters,—

	For Fuel 8" diameter	For Saw Logs 18" diameter
Hemlock	35 to 50 years	85 to 100 years
White Pine	35 to 45 years	90 to 100 years
Hickory	50 to 60 years	110 to 120 years

Thus, in certain parts of Connecticut, a century after the ending of the Pequot War in 1637, ample building timber was available. In other sections, local control achieved a similar result and with the conclusion of King Philip's War in 1675, all of southern New England saw the beginnings of forest growth.

This date is too late, however, to account for the pine panels, thirty-six inches and more in width, found in 18th century houses still existing. Such probably came from the fire-free forests of Vermont and New Hampshire. With the termination of Father Rase's War in 1726, immense logs began to be floated down the Merrimac and Connecticut, ostensibly for the King's navy, but the records are replete with evidence that large quantities of these "mast trees" were diverted to saw mills of the river towns and became building material.

As the country became settled by the English, much of the land was cultivated, mowed and pastured. Clearing continued well into the 19th century. Between 1820 and 1850, the area of cleared land attained its maximum, amounting to 75 or 80 per cent in some sections of southern New England. Since the Civil War, there has been a gradual abandonment of this cleared land in many places and slow reversion to forest. During the seventies, the portable steam saw mill came in and by the end of the 19th century, much of the remaining old woodland had been cut. As a result of these factors, more

than sixty per cent of southern New England is now brush land or young forest, either succeeding the older woods or invading land which was once cleared and cultivated.

This increase in wooded area continues constantly. In the five years from 1929 to 1934 the increase was nearly thirty-seven per cent, as is shown by the latest available statistics, giving the total acreage of farm woodlands (as distinguished from parks and public forests) in the section under consideration. There are—

	1929	1934
Massachusetts	862,569	1,027,724
Rhode Island	121,589	148,541
Connecticut	599,405	990,150
	<hr/> 1,583,563	<hr/> 2,166,415

The total acreage of these three states is 9,206,400, of which this 2,166,415 acres of woodland is less than one-quarter. But this approximate one-quarter is woodland only and does not include a vast acreage now in brush and rapidly becoming woodland.

Mention has been made of trees protected from fire by swamps. Of these swamps, there were two distinct types; one the depressions, too low to naturally drain, remaining as a result of the glacial era. Such were the "unimprovable swamps" shown on the 1794 map of Springfield. Of this type, southern New England had an abundance, but far more numerous were the swamps made by beavers. In number, these were beyond computation. Every stream, brook, and rill was dammed by these industrious animals, to produce swamps, which were abandoned and new ones created as the adjacent food supply was exhausted. The total acreage was enormous.

The beaver has been called the original conservationist. Its mode of life necessitates bodies of water of uniform depth at all seasons of the year and these it provides by building across flowing streams, dams, which are often of considerable magnitude, some being known more than a quarter mile in length and from ten to fourteen feet in height. The resultant ponds become settling basins and in them is deposited the alluvial matter brought in by the streams. In time, these ponds become filled with silt and the accumulated earthy matter provides a deep seed bed of wonderful fertility.

At the time of the white settlement, there were literally millions of these beaver ponds in North America, long before filled with sediment and since then, countless others have been formed and filled. Along the thousands of smaller streams there was colony after colony; dam after dam in close succession, as many as a hundred to the mile. At Three Forks, in Montana, Lewis and Clark saw the streams stretching away in a succession of beaver ponds, as far as the eye could reach; almost a continuous chain of ponds and swamps. On Mission Creek, near Cashmere, Washington, beavers are reported recently to have built sixty dams in only five miles of the creek's length.

In the numerous brook valleys, the settlers found these fertile "beaver meadows" of the abandoned pond sites, surrounded by the land cleared by these energetic animals, ready for their immediate use. Van der Donck saw such meadows, which he described in 1655, though he apparently did not recognize their origin. He said that "we also find meadow grounds, far inland, which make good hayland. Where the meadows are boggy and wet, such failings are easily remedied by breaking the bogs and letting off the water." Such reference could only be to a beaver meadow, readily drained by the breaking of the dam. A natural marsh could not be drained in such a casual manner, but would require explosives or steam shovels. Many of the richest tillable lands in New England were formed by the artificial works of the beaver. The aggregate area of rich soil deposits in the United States thus created is almost beyond belief and probably amounts to millions and millions of acres.

The beaver feeds on the inner bark of trees such as the poplar, willow, birch and alder. This they obtain by felling the trees, which they do rather rapidly and efficiently. It requires about an hour's work to gnaw down a tree four inches in diameter, while a branch nearly an inch thick, can be cut at a single bite. They prefer to cut trees four to ten inches in diameter, but it is not uncommon to see trees felled that are from twelve to fifteen inches through and a diameter of three feet six inches appears to be about the known limit. Seldom are the pines or hardwood molested. Thus, by removing the soft woods, light and freedom are given to the more valuable trees, which enables them to attain a size and vigor resistant to attacks by fire, when the swamps later drain through the disintegration of the abandoned dam. For their winter supply of food, a single colony has been known to fell a thousand trees, so that little time is required to clear the timber about a pond, which is then abandoned, to fill up and form the desirable level meadow. By some caprice of nature, many of these meadows were entirely free from brush and trees, providing mowable meadow. Others, starting with such water loving trees as the cedars and red maples, grew up to a forest with a damp underground, over which fire could not run. On such isolated, wooded tracts, the first settlers of southern New England were forced to rely for both building timber and firewood.

Scattered through both the natural and beaver swamps were elevated areas and ridges, which, being above the water level, became islands. These islands were the havens, asylums and homes of the Indians, especially during the winter season. Native enemies were here impeded; the whites were scarcely able to negotiate them at all. Almost no other forest or wooded cover existed, so that from necessity, the forts and villages of the natives were there located. Contemporary accounts clearly indicate this to be a fact.

Of the Indians about Brookfield, Massachusetts, in 1675, Ephraim Curtis said that these "have newly begun to settle themselves upon an island containing about four acres of ground, being compassed round with a broad mirey swamp on one side and a muddy river

with meadow on both sides of it, on the other side, and but only one place that a horse could possibly pass and there with great difficulty, by reason of the mire and dirt."

Capt. Thomas Wheeler in 1675 said that "there being a very rocky hill on the right hand and a thick swamp on the left, in which there were many of these cruel heathen, who there way laid us. They fired violently out of the swamp and from behind the bushes on the hill side and wounded me sorely".

The Present State of New England, London, 1675, speaks of a skirmish in which the whites "set on about five hundred Indians not far from Pocassit, pursuing them into a large swamp. This Pocassit swamp is judged about seven or eight miles long and so full of bushes and trees, that a parcel of Indians may be within the length of a pike of a man and he cannot discover them; and besides, this, as well as other swamps, is so soft ground, that an Englishman can neither go or stand thereon and yet these bloody savages will run along over it".

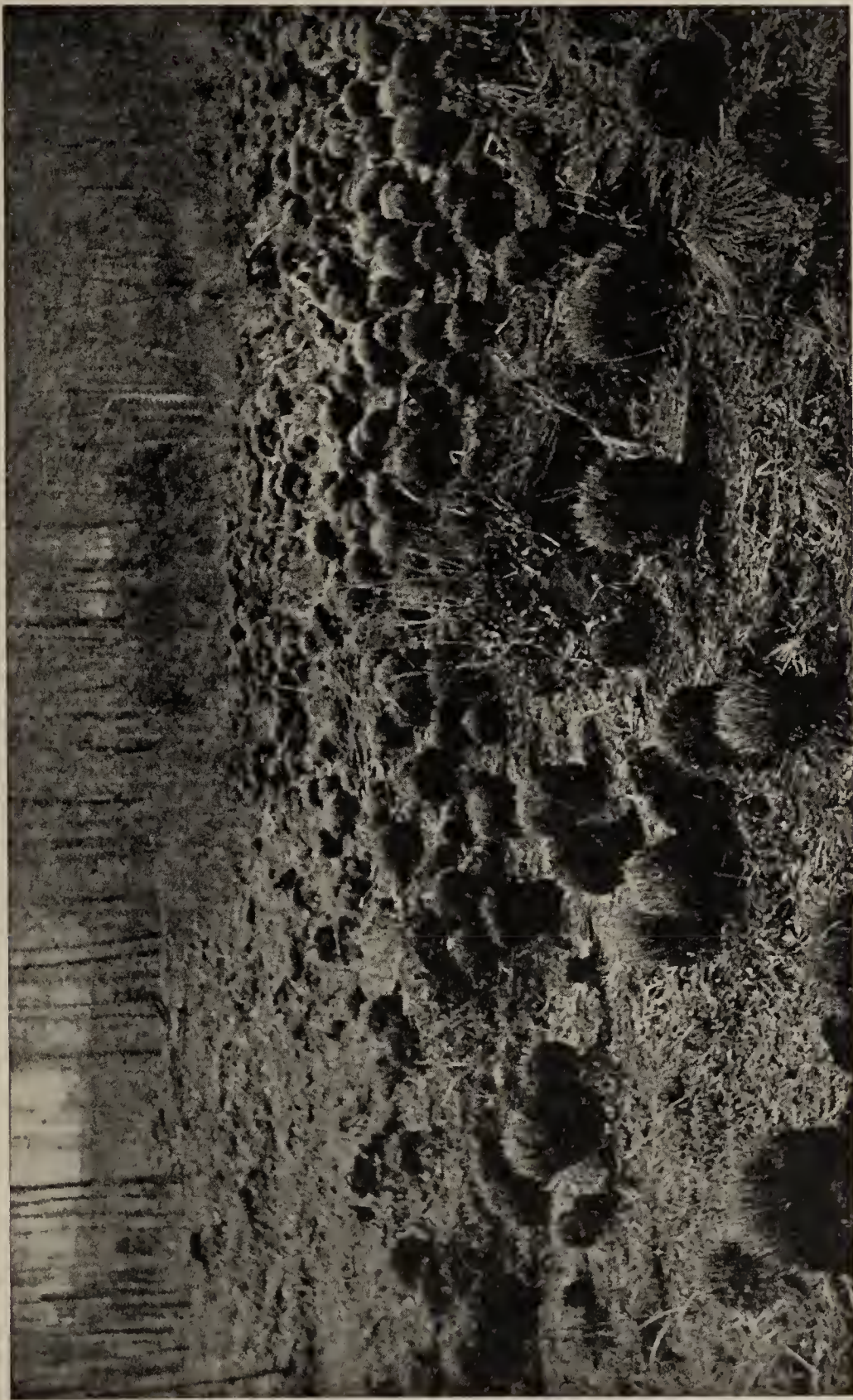
Of another skirmish, *A New and Further Narrative of New England*, London, 1676, says that "the Indians forsook their new built fort and that swamp wherein the fight happened and posted themselves in a swamp twenty miles distant."

The War in New England, London, 1677, says that on a similar occasion the settlers "gained a swamp wherein we found 1,500 wigwams (quite apparently a misprint for 150) and by night had possession of the fort, of which we were dispossessed soon after by an unexpected recruit of fresh Indians out of an adjoining swamp". The natives were "encamped in a well fortified swamp. They thought fit to forsake their refuge and leave both it and their wigwams to our disposal, who, lodging in their rooms that night, set fire to 150 of their wigwams next morning."

In none of the contemporary accounts of the Pequot War or of King Philip's War is there any mention of woods except in connection with swamps. Roger Williams accepted the two as synonymous, giving *cuppimachaug*, as the Indian word for a "thick wood; a swamp." He adds that "these thick woods and swamps, like the bogs to the Irish, are the refuges for women and children in war, whilst the men fight".

A New and Further Narrative of New England, London, 1676, prefaces its account with this statement. "For the better understanding some Indian words, which are necessarily used in the following narrative, the reader is desired to take notice that a swamp signifies a moorish place, overgrown with woods and bushes, but soft like a quagmire or Irish bog, over which a horse cannot pass at all, nor English foot, without great difficulty." The other words which the author defined were *sachem*, *squaw*, and *wigwam*, all recognized as pure Indian words.

In spite of labored efforts by lexicographers to trace the word "swamp" to a continental European origin, it quite possibly is a native American word.



Marsh Formerly Between Main and Dwight Streets, Springfield

An inevitable by-product of this great expanse of swampy area was the large number of mosquitoes, which were a terror to the settlers. Wood, in 1634, said that "the musketoe is not unlike to our gnats in England. In places where there is no thick woods or swamps, there is none or very few. In new plantations they be troublesome for the first year, but the wood decaying, they vanish. These flies cannot endure wind, heat, or cold so they are only troublesome in close, thick weather. Many that be bitten will fall scratching, whereupon their faces and hands swell. Others are never troubled with them at all. Those, likewise, that swell with their biting the first year, never swell the second. For my own part, I have been troubled as much with them or some like them, in the Fen country of England, as ever I was here."

In 1675 Josselyn said: "The country is strangely incommodated with flies which the English call musketaes. They will sting so fiercely in summer as to make the faces of the English swelled and scabby, as if the small pox, for the first year."

In 1632, Winthrop said that "this summer was very wet and cold, except now and then a hot day or two, which caused great store of musketoes and rattlesnakes."

In England, protestants against the colonization of New England enlarged upon "the annoyance of men by muskitoes and serpents" to such an extent that John White (*Planter's Plea*, 1630) remonstrated that "the muskitoes indeed infest the planters, about four months in the heat of summer, but after one year's acquaintance, men make light account of them; some slight defence for the hands and face, smoke and a close house may keep them off. Neither are they much more noisome than the fennish parts of Essex and Lincolnshire."

Such was southern New England when first settled.

Uplands, free from trees and brush, interspersed with swampy woodlands. So open was the country that the traveler could espy the swamps from afar and easily avoid them. If more convenient, the beaver swamps could be readily crossed on the dams. Such practice brought trails which were succeeded by permanent roads which have continued to this day. Many a modern road is partially imposed upon a beaver dam of old.

CHAPTER III

An Indian Census

AT A PUBLIC FORUM in Springfield, Massachusetts, on March 6, 1936, Dr. Lyman Bryson of Columbia University said: "It is probable that the present Indian population of the United States is larger than it was when America was discovered".

His obvious intent was to focus attention on the small number of Indians here in the sixteenth century, but the statement represents no more than a wild guess, for no statistics exist on which to base a reliable estimate of the number of Indians here at the time of the discovery. By the time America was visited by people competent to compute the number of natives, the population had been so reduced that conditions then bore little relationship to those of 1492.

In 1517, smallpox was carried from Europe to Hayti, and three years later it reached Mexico, where it wrought fearful devastation and whence it spread with intense virulence through much of the new world. William Robertson (*History of America*, 1777) said that three and a half million people were destroyed in Mexico alone. Again, this can hardly be more than a guess. In 1707, the disease was introduced into Iceland, where more than a quarter of the whole population fell victims. It reached Greenland in 1733 and nearly depopulated the country. These illustrations offer striking proof of the law that seems universally true; that a contagious disease is always most virulent on its first introduction to a new sphere of action.

What then, was the situation by the time Europeans saw beyond the New England coast line and acquired a knowledge of the natives of the interior?

In 1621, Governor Bradford related that "they found the people not many, being dead and abundantly wasted in the late great mortality which fell in all those parts about three years before the coming of the English, wherein thousands of them died. They not being able to bury one another, their skulls and bones were found in many places lying still above ground where their houses had been".

In 1629, Francis Higginson said "The Indians are not able to make use of the one fourth part of the land, neither have they any settled places, as towns to dwell in, nor any ground as they challenge for their own possession, but change their habitation from place to place. The greatest sagamore about us cannot make above three

hundred men and other less sagamores have not above fifteen subjects and others near about us, but two. Their subjects, above twelve years since, were swept away by a great and grievous plague that was amongst them, so that there are very few left to inhabit the country”.

A letter to William Pond, from Boston, March 15, 1631, said, “Here are but few Indians. A great part of them died this winter. It was thought it was of the plague”.

Such plagues continued, for in 1633 Governor Winthrop reported “a great mortality among the Indians. The disease was the smallpox. Some of them were cured by such means as they had from us. The infection spread to Pascataquack, where all the Indians except one or two died”.

For years the Plymouth and Boston people cast longing eyes at the Connecticut Valley, but were deterred from attempts to settle there through fear of the Indians. In time, however, the scouts and ne’er-do-wells from the coast, penetrated to the interior, carrying the infections with them.

Bradford tells us that in 1634 “it pleased God to visit us with an infectious fever. This disease also swept away many of the Indians from all the places near adjoining. A company of Indians lived up above (Windsor) in the river of Connecticut. It pleased God to visit these Indians with a great sickness and such mortality that of 1,000 above 950 of them died and many of them did rot above ground for want of burial. This spring also, those Indians that lived about our trading house (at Windsor) fell sick of the smallpox and died most miserably. Very few of them escaped notwithstanding we did all we could for them to the hazard of ourselves. The chief sachem died and almost all his friends and kindred”.

Thus was the stage set for the occupation of the valley by the English. It is small wonder that William Pynchon found less than a score of adult natives at Springfield in 1636.

Apparently Pynchon assumed that Indian lands were owned in common and that therefore every adult occupant was an owner and entitled to a share in the proceeds of a sale. The bounds of the tract at Springfield, which he acquired in 1636, were quite indefinite but certainly included more than twenty-five square miles. For these he gave twenty coats, eighteen fathom of wampum, eighteen hatchets, eighteen howes and eighteen knives, indicating that eighteen adults occupied the territory or claimed ownership in it; about one Indian to each one and a half square mile.

Similar reasoning is seen in his purchase in 1641, of several square miles north of the Chicopee River, which seems to have been neutral territory, used merely for the fishing by various near-by bands. Payment was made to Nippumsuit and Jancompowin of Nonatuck now Northampton; to Misquis, of Skipmuck, now Chicopee Falls; to Mishqua and her son Saccarant; to Secousk and to Wene-pawin, the latter four being all of Woronoco, now Westfield. Secousk was the widow of Kenix, who was one of the Indians from whom

Pynchon had bought the land at Springfield, five years earlier, in which sale this Wenepawin also joined. Secousk is a compound word which means no more than "widow woman"; that is, secou-squaw, literally, a "left behind woman". In composition, the Pynchons, both father and son, invariably (as Roger Williams did frequently) slurred over the noun, so that it remained simply as sk, or qua. The same elision is here seen in the name of Mishqua, the "chief woman"; the saunk-squaw, or squaw sachem. She was the same woman, later known to the younger Pynchon as "Mishnoasqus, alias Margery", from whom he bought the lands at Suffield.

To these seven Indians, besides "certain fish hooks and other small things", Pynchon agreed to give fifteen fathom of wampum, one hoe and a "coat" or blanket of one and three quarter yards of double width shag baize, all of which evidently went to Nippumsuit, as the acknowledged leader of the band. Then more significantly, was additional payment made of seven knives, seven awls and seven pairs of scissors, which seems a recognition of the fact that the above seven Indians alone claimed sole joint ownership.

On coming to put his mark to the formal deed, Wenepawin proved recalcitrant and Pynchon was obliged to give him a yard and a quarter of baize for a "coat", as well as a pair of breeches and a coat to Misquis "and six knives to them all". A month later, May 24, 1641, the widow Secousk dropped in to set her mark, for which she held Pynchon up for another knife and twelve hands of wampum. Jan-compowin delayed his part in completing the bargain for some two and a half years, but on the "9th day of the 8th month, 1643, he set his hand to this writing and Mr. Pynchon gave him a coat and a knife. He came not to set his hand till this day". So matters rested until June 27, 1644, when "the woman called Secousk, above said, who was the widow of Kenix, came again to Mr. Pynchon, desiring a further reward. Thereupon Mr. Pynchon gave her a child coat of red cotton, a glass and a knife, in the presence of Janandua, her present husband, and she was fully satisfied". Even this was not the end. Nippumsuit demanded "another large coat for his sister that he said had right in the said land". Pynchon had no option. The settlers had long since been warned that "if any of the savages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their title that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion". With the delivery of the coat for Nippumsuit's sister, the transaction seems to have been completed. Still another Indian, Wauhshaues of Nonotuck, also signed the deed, but only as a witness and he made no claim to ownership. All of which would justify the assumption that not more than seven or eight Indians occupied or claimed ownership in this tract of some twenty-five square miles.

A final witness to this deed was the Indian Coa, and his inclusion explains much.

Coa (or Coe or Coo) was an Indian from whose wife Niarum Pynchon had bought land at Springfield, five years earlier. When



Indian Skulls From Long Hill, Showing Extra Suture



Indian Skulls From Long Hill

negotiating for that land, Pynchon brought from Boston, a recognized Indian interpreter, who evidenced that "to all within expressed, they understood; by Ahaughton, an Indian of the Massachusett". When John Pynchon, in 1653, bought the land for the settlement at Northampton, the deed was witnessed by "Wutshamin, a chief man of Nammeleck, who helped to make the bargain". To the 1660 deed for the land which became Hatfield, "Woassomehuc alias Skejask, an Indian witness" set his mark.

It was a Pynchon custom and without doubt, in this case it was Coa "who helped to make the bargain", which explains why the leader was called Nippumsuit, "he who speaks another language", that is, a man of another tribe. And why his abiding place was called Nonotuck; "the place far off".

This name is a perfect example of the dialectal interchange of the l, n and r. That which to the Springfield Indians was Nonotuck, to other Indians was Nolwotogg and Norwotock. The same nouns; the same adjectives; the same meaning. But the vocal organs of the natives habituated to the n sound, could not sound the l, or r, and vice versa. We have a modern example in the "Pidgin English" of the Chinese, whose "Melican man velly well", we consider a bit humorous and due to unintelligence, but which is simply because of his inability to sound the r.

It might be added that the names Jancompowin and Janandua are entirely unlike any other local personal or place names. The initial, J, seems not to have existed in the Connecticut Valley. It should be suspected that the very, very careless Mr. Pynchon here used a J for a sound which could have been much better represented by ch; giving Chancompowin and Chanandua.

In the early days of the settlements, the natives were friendly and helpful to the English. At Salem, in 1629, Francis Higginson said that "they do generally profess to like well our coming and planting here, partly because there is abundance of ground that they cannot possess nor make use of, and partly because our being here will be a means both of relief to them when they want and also a defence from their enemies, wherewith, before this plantation began, they were often endangered".

By 1634, familiarity had bred contempt and the cooperative spirit faded. Then began the episodes that brought on the Pequot War. Estimates of the number of Indians engaged in this and in King Philip's War, forty years after, as made by later generations from stories of their ancestors, do not stand up under analysis. These exaggerations, however, are perfectly understandable. Under stress, a couple of savages, behind trees, in the dead of night, might well seem like a whole tribe, especially to timorous women and children. James Truslow Adams' suggestion in *The Founding of New England*, that "perhaps the original settlers faced in all, five thousand warriors" is utterly absurd. In Vermont there were almost no natives, except possibly about Lake Champlain. A similar condition existed in New Hampshire where small bands were about Lake Winnepesaukee

and the short stretch of sea coast. Western Massachusetts and north western Connecticut were practically uninhabited.

Contrary to general thought, the food of the natives was mainly corn and fish. Their weapons lacked range and effectiveness, so that what little game they secured was taken by traps and snares. Moreover, game was not plentiful. The Indians deeply resented the killing of a deer by the English. Lionel Gardiner told of certain Indians who, amongst themselves, had "resolved to fall upon them all, at one appointed day, and kill men, women and children, but no cows, for they will serve to eat until our deer be increased again".

As a result of all these factors, it was the coasts and the lower reaches of the rivers that the natives occupied.

In 1637, the Pequots had two palisaded villages or "forts" in southern Connecticut; one at Mystic River and another on the Thames. Apparently, each accommodated, roughly, one-half the tribe. On the night of May 26, 1637, the English attacked the Mystic fort and destroyed its inhabitants.

There are six contemporary accounts of this episode: Governor Winthrop's, Governor Bradford's, Philip Vincent's, Capt. John Underhill's, Lionel Gardiner's and Capt. John Mason's. Vincent's *True Relation*, written in 1637 and printed in 1638, gives the number of natives slain at the Mystic fort as "betwixt three and four hundred". Underhill's *News from America*, also published in 1638 says that "Many were burnt in the fort, both men, women and children. It is reported by themselves that there were about four hundred souls in this fort and not above five escaped out of our hands". Gardiner's reminiscences were written in 1660, twenty-three years after the war, as a result of a reunion of some of the principal actors. He said that they "killed three hundred", at the destruction of the fort.

These three recorders seem to agree that the Pequots not destroyed in that affair, numbered about three hundred. Thus the total number of Pequot "souls; men, women and children" was apparently between six and seven hundred. During the summer the tribe was entirely annihilated and that fall Vincent said that "a day of thanksgiving was celebrated, the Pequetans now seeming nothing but a name, for not less than seven hundred are slain or taken prisoners".

Just when Mason's *Brief History* was written is not clear. Both his and Gardiner's accounts were attempts to refute the claims of Massachusetts that she "won the war" and so was entitled to a share in the territory. On October 2, 1656, the Connecticut General Court asked Mason to write a statement of the facts. When he finally delivered his manuscript to the Court, he commented on "how often I have been requested to write something in reference to the subject". His preface is subscribed from Norwich, which was not settled until 1660 and had no recognition as a town prior to 1661, when it was known as Norridge. When the history was printed by Thomas Prince, in 1735, he said that it was "about three score years since the narrative was written". Three score years would have been in 1675, but

Mason had died in 1672. A bit "above three score years" would have been within his lifetime. It seems probable that it was written during the closing years of his life; a last gesture. The preface closes with the single word, "farewell". That would place it thirty-five years after the events; hardly the time accurately to recall the precise number of Indians slain in any particular skirmish.

Mason said that "in a little more than an hour's space was their impregnable fort, with themselves, utterly destroyed, to the number of six or seven hundred, as some of themselves confessed". It would appear quite evident that Mason's figure was the total of all the Pequots "utterly destroyed" in that short war.

Bradford, in his contemporary account of the slaughter at the Mystic fort said that "they thus destroyed about four hundred at this time". Winthrop wrote to Bradford on July 28, 1637 that "they have now slain or taken in all, about seven hundred".

Of this seven hundred, two hundred might have been warriors; an estimate of three hundred would be very generous. Three hundred warriors in an area of perhaps three hundred square miles; the most densely populated in New England.

On November 24, 1638, Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport bought for themselves and other English planters the land at Quinnipiac which became New Haven, Connecticut. Their deed recites that "the number of Quinnipiac Indians, men and youth, grown to stature fit for service being forty-seven".

On December 11 of that same year, Montowese sold a tract northerly of this, which was thirteen miles wide and ten miles long, from which the sachem reserved planting ground "for his men which are ten and many squaws".

On September 29, 1639, the settlers of Guilford, Connecticut, bought the land from East River to Stony Creek, the native inhabitants of which were "thirteen men, eight women and twelve children, or thirty-three in all".

Van der Donck, in 1655 said that "the Indians affirm that before the arrival of the christians, and before the smallpox broke out amongst them, they were ten times as numerous as they now are and that the population has been melted down by this disease, where nine-tenths of them died".

During King Philip's War, in 1675 the Indians of western Massachusetts conspired to destroy the town of Springfield. Engaged in this conspiracy were all those from Westfield to Brookfield; from Springfield to Deerfield; an area of a thousand square miles. Immediately after the affair, a competent observer said that "there appeared not above one hundred Indians" in the raid. One hundred warriors in all. One warrior to each ten square miles of the territory.

The only logical conclusion is that at the time of the early settlements, the native population of New England was very sparse. A more precise statement is hardly justified.

Up to about seventy-five years ago, Indian censuses were merely estimates; often very rough guesses and they have varied widely

in even more recent years. It is also a fact that from time to time, persons of mixed ancestry, not living on reservations, but scattered through the general population have been "discovered" and added to the Bureau of the Census enumeration. It is a complicated situation because there exists no legal definition of an Indian, whereas, the racial intermixture which has been going on since 1492 is constantly on the increase and accounts for a large proportion of the alleged growth in population.

Under modern conditions, recognition as an Indian and adoption into a tribe, usually confers valuable rights in land and other property. Hence, amongst certain classes, there is an eagerness to claim Indian ancestry. When the Oklahoma Choctaws were finally enrolled, six thousand residents of Mississippi, "apparently white or negro", claimed a share in the tribal estate. The South Carolina Cherokees have a rule excluding all persons of less than one-sixteenth Cherokee blood from the privileges and emoluments of the tribe.

In Samoa, legitimate half-castes and natives married to white men have always had full European status. Many believe that a similar rule in this country would do away with much needless profiteering in a minor fraction of aboriginal blood.

One is prone to think of civilization in New England as beginning at Plymouth in 1620, but Charles Knowles Bolton, in his *Terra Nova* (1935) gives a detailed list of six or seven hundred "persons on the north east coast before 1602". This includes such names as Verrazzano, Cabot and Gomez, in their persons only, but does not include members of their crews, otherwise the list would be greatly lengthened. Long before Winthrop came to Massachusetts Bay in 1630, thousands of Europeans were fishing off the coast for six months in each year. It is not surprising that the Pilgrims were greeted by an Indian with the words, "Welcome Englishmen". It is far more surprising that they did not meet with many more English-speaking natives.

For a hundred years prior to the coming of the English to Plymouth, countless explorers, fishermen and traders ranged the New England coast and were made welcome, especially by the native women. These strangers combined in the eyes of the Indian girl, all that was dashing and heroic in a warrior of her own race, with all that was glorious and mysterious in the white race. There was no comparison, in the eyes of an aspiring belle of the wilderness, between a European and an Indian. The native code of hospitality made so easy the course of these loose-living rovers that there must ever remain a question as to how many full-blood Indians there really were on the New England coast after the sixteenth century. Travelers wrote home of the chaste native women, but such were of the class who saw only the higher things of life or only that which they most wished to see.

Verrazzano, in relating his experience in Narragansett Bay in 1524, told of his "men staying two or three days on a small island near the ship, for their various necessities, as sailors are wont to do".

This naive statement is not very elucidating, but one familiar with the habits of the mariners of that period would feel quite confident that these men were not ashore to wash out their handkerchiefs or to gather sea shells.

In 1631, Winthrop records that "at the last court a young fellow was whipped for soliciting an Indian squaw to incontinency". In 1640, Coddington, at Rhode Island wrote to Winthrop, regarding "one Thomas Savery, who hath a child by an Indian woman, which is a boy, and is not black haired like the Indian children, but yellow haired, as the English". The earliest explorers often stressed the fact that the hair of the natives was black; raven; jet black. No other color was mentioned. Gradually a change came. At Roanoke, in 1584, Arthur Barlowe said that "their hair is black for the most part and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut colored hair".

What people of that age knew about birth control is another question. They seem to have had a glimmering of an idea regarding it for Bradford, in 1625, told of two Plymouth neighbors, engaged in illicit relations and "though he satisfied his lust on her, yet he endeavored to hinder conception".

In 1671, the Rev. John Russell lived at Hadley, Massachusetts. Some twenty miles south, at Springfield, lived John Pynchon. On a reservation at Springfield was an English-built "fort"; the home of the Agawam Indians. Pastor Russell's Negro slave, lonesome in that white-man's town, borrowed his master's dugout and slipped down the Connecticut for a visit with the natives where he probably was an honored guest; treated at least as a equal. The experience of Capt. William Clark's Negro slave, York, among the Ricaras on the Missouri in 1804, would indicate what this black man's reception was.

Eventually, the whereabouts of the truant became known and Pynchon engineered his return, for which he charged Russell, "July 11, 1671—To payment to the Indians who brought your negro and the canoe from the Indian fort,—£1.". One pound was a lot of money in those times when a skilled artisan worked for only two shillings a day and suggests an unusual feat on the part of the Indians.

The written history of the case ends here but it does not complete the story.

Adjacent to the Indian fort was a native burial plot in which no interments were made earlier than 1666 and none later than 1675. This cemetery was excavated in 1896 and the skulls recovered plainly indicate a "nigger in the woodpile" of the Agawams. He who so glibly speaks of a "typical Indian skull" would do well to ponder on the variations in these. A primitive Indian skull can, with certainty, be found only in a prehistroic burial place, among the remains of those who died prior to 1492.

From Mackinack, in 1702, Father Carheil bitterly complained of the loose habits of his charges and "the commerce of the savage women with the French". He said that the fort of the post was

“a place that I am ashamed to call by its proper name, where the women have found that their bodies serve in lieu of merchandise. All the soldiers keep open house in their dwellings, for all the women of their acquaintance. From morning to night they pass entire days there, sitting by the fire and often on their beds, engaged in conversations and actions proper to their commerce”.

In Virginia, in 1728, William Byrd said that they “were unluckily so many that they could not well make us the compliment of bed-fellows, according to the Indian rules of hospitality, though a grave matron whispered one of the commissioners very civilly in the ear that if her daughter had been but one year older, she should have been at his devotion”. On another occasion, Byrd said that “we resisted all their charms, notwithstanding the long fast we had kept from the sex. Nor can I say the price they set upon their charms was at all exorbitant. A princess for a pair of red stockings surely cannot be thought too dear”.

The Lewis and Clark expedition to the Columbia in 1804-1806, saw natives under most primitive conditions; Indians who had never before seen white men and whose habits were not influenced by a prior knowledge of the ways of civilization.

Of the Ricaras, the journalist said: “These women are handsomer than the Sioux; both of them are, however disposed to be amorous and our men found no difficulty in procuring companions for the night. The Sioux had offered us squaws, but we having declined while we remained there, they followed us with offers of females for two days. The Ricaras had been equally accommodating; we had equally withstood their temptation; but such was their desire to oblige us that two very handsome young squaws were sent on board this evening, and persecuted us with civilities. The black man, York, participated largely in these favors, for, instead of inspiring any prejudice, his color seemed to procure him additional advantages from the Indians, who desired to preserve among them some memorial of this wonderful stranger. Among other instances of attention, a Ricara invited him into his house and presenting his wife to him, retired to the outside of the door. While there, one of York’s comrades who was looking for him, came to the door, but the gallant husband would permit no interruption until a reasonable time had elapsed”.

Of the Shoshonees, they said that “the chastity of the women does not appear to be held in much estimation. The husband will, for a trifling present, lend his wife for a night to a stranger and the loan may be protracted by increasing the value of the present”.

“The Chinook woman who brought her six female relations to our camp, had regular prices, proportioned to the beauty of each female and among all the tribes, a man will lend his wife or his daughter for a fish-hook, or a strand of beads”. They later came in contact with the same band, and recorded that they “were visited this afternoon by Dalashelwilt and his wife, with six women of his tribe, whom the old Chinook bawd, his wife, had brought to market.

This was the same party who had last November infected so many of our men with venereal disease”.

Sergeant Patrick Gass saw the Mandans in 1805. He said that “chastity is not very highly esteemed by these people; the women are generally considered an article of traffic and indulgences are sold at a very moderate price. For an old tobacco box, one of our men was granted the honor of passing a night with the daughter of the head chief of the Mandan nation”.

Among the Blackfeet, in 1832, Capt. Benjamin Bonneville saw the white trappers returning to civilization, “leading their pack horses and looking like banditti returning with plunder. On the top of some of the packs were perched several half-breed children, perfect little imps, with wild black eyes glaring from among elf locks. These were the children of the trappers; pledges of love from their squaw spouses in the wilderness”.

In all ages and in all lands, “fraternization” between conquerors and the conquered has ever been common, but the aim and the end has always produced the same results. In America, an indolent mariner willingly “jumped ship” and accepted the epithet of “squaw-man” in exchange for a life of ease. In his mind the association might have been initiated as something of a temporary nature, but it often grew into a permanent condition.

From 1524 to 1832, north, south, east and west, it was the same story for more than three hundred years. With such a mingling of blood, one can but ask,—what is an Indian?

A daughter, born in 1600, to an Indian girl and a trader, might, by another trader, have a son born in 1620. Such a son would have had far more European than Indian blood. Through the years there have been numerous Indians, outstanding among their people; Uncas, King Philip, Sitting Bull, Geronimo. Did a preponderance of white blood account for their preeminence?

CHAPTER IV

Indian Garb

DURING the past hundred years, through painstaking research, bits of local history have been gleaned from the old records and brought together to tell a rather complete story of the Springfield of the past. They have shown the falsity of some old legends and corroborated others. Each year new material is unearthed, manuscripts are transcribed, indexed and made available. The community has a wealth of such material. Town and county records are unusually complete. The *Book of Possessions* and the Pynchon account books give minute details that must be unquestioned.

The story of the early settlers and the story of the Indians and their relations with each other are an open book for him who will read. Therefore it is a great pity that the public should unnecessarily be led to misconstrue known facts. The incontrovertible details of the past that have been so laboriously gathered should be cherished and saved. The erection in Forest Park of a misleading representation of Toto, the friendly Indian whose timely warning saved Springfield from destruction in 1675, is to be regretted. It is the child that is most intrigued by the romance of the Indian and it is a vicious thing to give to the child, symbolism which he accepts as realism.

The physiognomy and dress of the prehistoric Indian of New England are not matters of theory. Both were depicted by competent artists and described by historians of the 17th century.

Probably no other subjects in the history of New England have been the source of so much misinformation and so many erroneous ideas as have the native Indians. For generations we have been given false ideas and misconceptions of the eastern Indians. Even today there are numerous histories and school books in which the New England tribesmen are pictured as dwelling in conical tepees, wearing war bonnets or with shaven heads and upstanding roaches of hair, and clad in elaborately fringed buckskin garments. And despite countless scientific bulletins and reports and many accurate popular books on the subject, yet so firmly fixed are the erroneous ideas about our New England natives that the average person invariably pictures them as replicas of the old cigar store wooden Indian or the head on the old copper cent. While no eastern Indian ever saw or wore a war bonnet until this form of head gear was introduced from the Far West,

yet in the minds of the majority of white persons this headdress of the plains' nomads is an essential part of the costume or regalia of every Indian.

To deck a Massachusetts Indian in the regalia of a Sioux, Black-foot or western tribesman is bad enough, but nothing compared to the weird costume on the statue on the alleged site of King Philip's stockade in Forest Park. Attired in a combination costume of bits from several tribes—and some which must have been evolved in the sculptor's mind—with a clay pipe typical of an Irish laborer stuck in his belt, this caricature of Toto, or whatever it is supposed to represent, grasps in his left hand what one man suggested might well be a wooden nickel, and peers towards Springfield as if searching for his creator in order to wreak dire and deserved vengeance.

Quite recently science has added a note of value and interest to studies of the past.

During the past 40 years much study has been given in Europe to the relation between the human skull and the fleshy face, and it seems now possible, given either one, to reproduce the other with considerable accuracy. From 104 skulls and faces measurements of the skull and flesh were taken at 21 different points, and from these data a system has been worked out which gives an effect almost uncanny.

Although the method is confessedly incomplete, it was used with startling results in 1895, in building up the face upon the supposed skull of Johann Sebastian Bach, who died in 1750, with results that proved the identity of the skull in question beyond all doubt.

As the story is told, there were three skulls, one of which was supposed to be that of Bach. Taking one at random, a face was built up on it, of plastic material, but it resembled no known person. The result was the same with the second. The third, when completed, showed the features of Bach to the life, and proved the correctness of the theory and system.

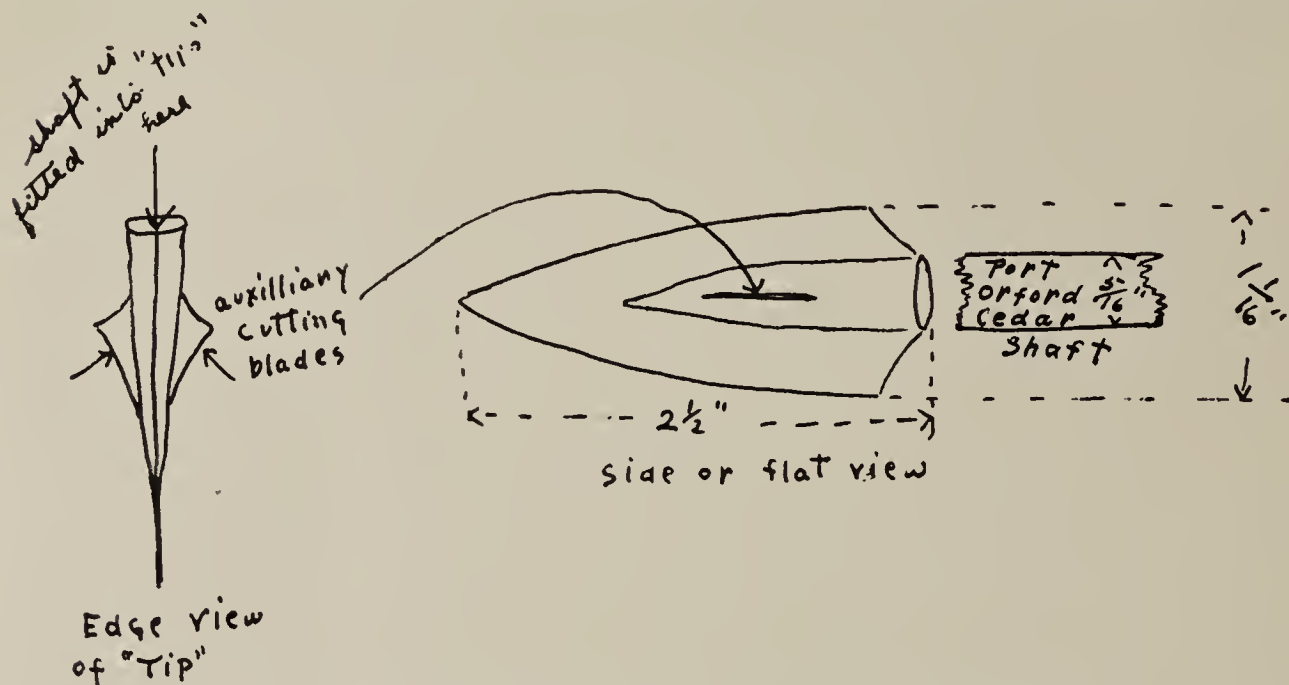
Harris Hawthorne Wilder, Ph.D., professor of zoology at Smith College, became interested in this work and applied these methods to the skulls of various New England Indians, substituting plastilina for the missing flesh. The skulls first selected for restoration included a man and a woman of the Narragansett tribe and two men from Hadley. From the heads built up of the plastic material, plaster casts have been made, two of which are in our Science Museum.

Both the physiognomy and cranial capacity indicate persons of limited intelligence and they undoubtedly show in a correct way the features of the Connecticut Valley Indians. If the hair and native headdress were added, they would probably truly represent the local Indians. Thus Dr. Wilder has supplied data, supposedly lost forever.

Almost as fixed as the prevalent war bonnet is the idea that all New England Indians who did not wear such a headdress had their hair shaved off to leave a comb-like roach or "scalp lock" of hair. Yet there is no evidence, no reliable information or record to indicate that this was either a universal or a general custom of the New England tribes. It was more or less in vogue among the tribes of

the Iroquois Confederation, the Hurons and Eries and the Mikmaks of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but the great majority of the eastern Indians wore their hair "bobbed" or shoulder length. Moreover, the tuft of hair on the crown of the shaven heads was not a "scalp lock", but was left as a means of securing feathers or other insignia or ornaments.

In the same way, the Indians who wore bobbed hair usually left a tuft of longer hair for the same purpose, and it was this long tuft that the early settlers and chroniclers referred to as a "scalp lock." But no New England Indian ever had need of a scalp lock and none



Plan of the modern Arrow Point known as a Broadhead

ever took a scalp until after the arrival of the white men who taught them the trick. Settlers were paid bounties for the killing of wolves and other predatory animals, but to qualify for the reward they were required to bring in the ears of the slain beast. From the ears of a wolf to the hair of an Indian was but a step. The New England tribesmen were quick to profit by the pale-faces' offer of bounties for human scalps, and reasoning that if the white men put such a high value on the trophies they must possess magical powers, they began lifting hair on their own account.

The procedure, as described by William Byrd in 1728 appears decidedly gruesome. He tells us that "those that are killed of the enemy, or disabled, they scalp; that is, they cut the skin all around the head just below the hair, and then clapping their feet to the poor mortal's shoulders, pull the scalp off clean and carry it home in triumph."

But regardless of all this, the public still demands either a war bonnet or a "scalp lock" on its Indians.

The popular idea of the "red Indian" or "copper colored savage" is also erroneous for such never existed *au naturel*. From

the constant use of red ochre as paint many Indians acquired a reddish stain, but the normal and natural color of the skins of the New England Indians was an olive, varying from that of a brunette white person to a pale dead-leaf brown, or often about the color of a Chinese. In most cases an eastern Indian, when dressed in conventional garments and seen on the street, would be mistaken for a dark complexioned white man—a Spaniard, Neapolitan or possibly a Syrian—and ninety-nine out of a hundred persons would never recognize him as an Indian.

Even brownish hair, often wavy, and gray or hazel eyes are not at all unusual among Indians, especially those of Algonquin stock. How much of this variation was due to mixed blood must remain an enigma, but it is undeniable that there was a decided admixture, especially in New England.

There are so many contemporaneous descriptions of the appearance of the 16th and 17th century Indians as to leave little ground for argument or misunderstanding. Explorers wrote home in minute detail of the marvelous things which they saw in the New World. Between 1630 and 1640, 20,000 permanent settlers came to Massachusetts alone, all of whom left behind home-folks anxious to learn of life in America, and a surprising number of their letters have been preserved. Many descriptive books were published for the information of a curious public. Such evidence cannot be gainsaid.

The distance across the United States is, roughly, three thousand miles. A traveler going an equal distance eastward from Paris would pass through France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and well into Persia with the expectation of encountering varied races, customs, costumes and languages. Why, then, should one expect to find here, identical people, from coast to coast? Actually the variations were as great here as there.

However, the natives of the Atlantic seaboard, from Maine to Pamlico Sound in North Carolina were all of the Algonquian family and so quite similar except as to dialectal changes in their language. This is most fortunate, as these were the people encountered and described by the majority of the early travelers.

In 1524, Verrazzano came into New York harbor and reported to the king that the natives there “go entirely naked, except that about the loins they wear the skins of small animals, like martens, fastened by a girdle of plaited grass, to which they tie, all round the body, the tails of other animals hanging down to the knees; all other parts of the body and the head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to bird’s feathers. The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that of the Ethiopians; their hair is black and thick, and not very long. It is worn tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail”.

From the Hudson, Verrazzano went to Rhode Island where he met “two kings, one about forty years old, the other about twenty-four, dressed in the following manner. The oldest had a deer’s skin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures; his head was

without covering, his hair was tied back in various knots. The young man was similar in his general appearance. Members of this tribe are of a very fair complexion, some of them incline more to a white and others to a tawny color, their hair long and black. Their women are of the same form; they wear no clothing except a deer skin, ornamented like those of the men; some wear very rich lynx skins upon their arms and various ornaments upon their heads, composed of braids of hair, which hang down upon their breasts on each side".

In 1584, Arthur Barlowe wrote to Raleigh, from Virginia that he saw the wife of the king's brother and that "she had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to body and before her a piece of the same. His apparel was as his wives, only the women wear their hair long on both sides and the men but one."

The following year, Ralph Lane wrote to Hakluyt, from Virginia, that the natives were "very desirous to have cloaths but especially coarse cloath, rather than silk. Coarse canvas they also like well". Thus early did these imitative natives seek to acquire European clothing.

Gosnold came to the Massachusetts coast in 1602, where he found the natives "all naked, saving about their shoulders certain loose deer skins, and near their waists, seal skins tied fast like to Irish dimmie trousers. These people are in color swart, their hair long, uptied with a knot in the part behind the head. They paint their bodies, which are strong and well proportioned."

In 1609, Henry Hudson came to the river which now bears his name and found the natives "in deer skins, loose, well dressed. They desired clothes." The following day he saw "some in mantles of feathers and some in skins of divers sorts of good furs". Again, he said "The swarthy natives all stood around. Their clothing consisted of the skins of foxes and other animals which they dress and make the skins into garments of various sorts".

Francis Higginson came to Salem in 1629. In 1630, three editions of his *New England's Plantation* were published in London. He said of the Massachusetts natives that "they are a tall and strong limbed people; their colors are tawny; they go naked, save only they are in part covered with beasts skins on one of their sholders and wear something about their privities. Their hair is generally black and cut before like our gentlewomen and one lock longer than the rest, much like to our gentlemen".

From Lord Baltimore's plantation in Maryland, in 1634, one of the settlers wrote to friends in England that the "natives are swarthy by nature but much more by art; painting themselves with colors, in oil, like a dark red. They wear their hair generally very long and it is as black as jet, which they bring up in a knot to the left ear, and tie it about with a large string of wampampegge. Their apparel generally is deer skin and some fur, which they wear like loose mantles, yet under this about their middle all women and men at man's estate, wear round aprons of skins, which keeps them decently covered. All

the rest of their bodies are naked, and at times, some of the youngest sort, both men and women have just nothing to cover them."

Philip Vincent said to them, in 1637,—“naked they go, except a skin about their waist, and sometimes a mantle about their shoulders”.

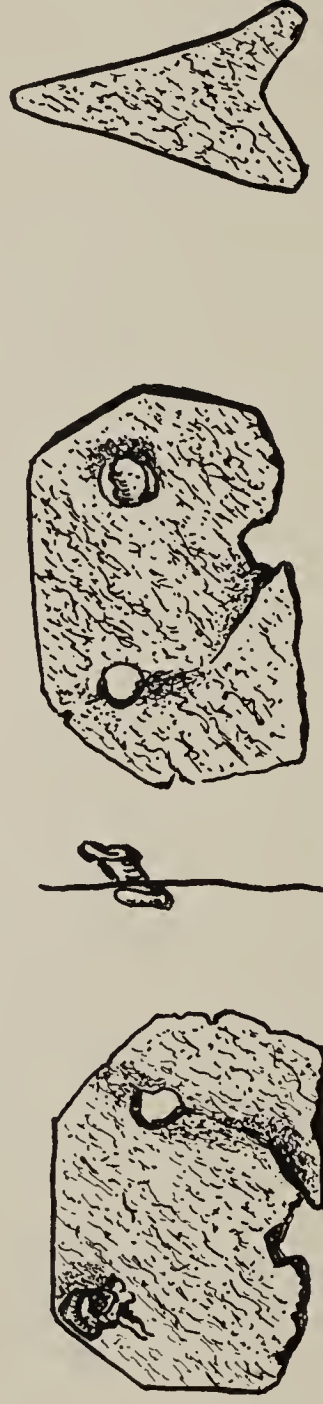
Thomas Morton came to Massachusetts in 1622. Though prior to that date, the natives for a long period had dealings with the explorers, it is doubtful if the dress of the Indians had seen much change and Morton must have known them in nearly their primitive state. In his *New English Canaan*, published in 1637, he says that “the Indians of these parts do make their apparel of the skins of several sorts of beasts. Some of these skins they dress with the hair on. The hairy side, in winter time, they wear next to their bodies, and in warm weather they wear the hair outwards. They make likewise, some coats of the feathers of turkies, which they weave together with twine of their own making. These garments they wear like mantles over their shoulders and put under their arm. They make shoes of moose skins, and of such deer skins as they dress bare, they make stockings that come within their shoes like a stirrup stocking and is fastened above at their belt. Every male, after he attains the age which they call pubes, weareth a belt about his middle and a broad piece of leather that goeth between his legs and is tucked up both before and behind, under that belt”.

De Vries went up the Hudson River to Albany in 1639. He said of the natives there that “all of them have black hair and yellow skin. They go naked in the summer. In winter they throw over them an unprepared deer skin or bear hide, or a covering of turkey feathers, or they buy duffels of us, two ells and a half long, and unsewed, go off with it and think they appear fine. They make themselves shoes and stockings of deer skins, or they take the leaves of maize and braid them together, and use them for shoes. Men and women go with their heads bare. The women let their hair grow very long, tie it together a little and let it hang down the back. Some of the men have it on one side of the head, others have a lock hanging on each side. On the top of the head they have a strip of hair from the forehead to the neck, about three fingers broad, and cut two or three fingers long. It then stands up like a cock’s comb. On both sides of this cock’s comb, they cut it off close, except the locks. They paint their faces red, blue and brown and look like the devil himself.”

It is obvious that De Vries is here describing the Iroquois, who were of a family totally unlike the New England Indians, in the manner of trimming their hair.

Roger Williams came to Massachusetts in 1631, where he remained for five years, removing to Rhode Island in 1636. There he lived with the descendants of the natives whom Verrazzano had described one hundred and twelve years earlier. In that interim the Indians had received many visits from explorers and traders from whom they acquired various bits of European wares. They had, however, remained in a surprisingly primitive state.

FRAGMENT OF A KETTLE AND ARROW HEAD
FROM FORT RIVER FORT SITE-HADLEY MASS. 1940

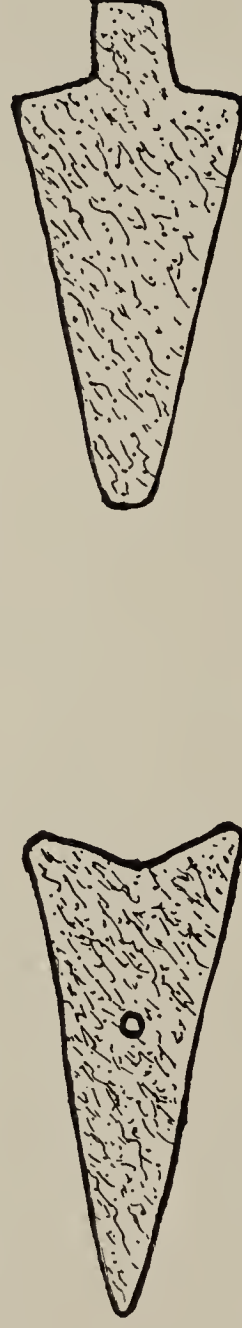


OBVERSE

END

REVERSE

TWO COPPER ARROW HEADS FROM THE FORT LOT IN
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.-1896



SCALE FULL SIZE

WM J. HOWES ~ DEL.

Probably no one in America knew the Indians more intimately than Williams. In his *Key Into the Language*, published in 1643, he said that "they have a two fold nakedness. First, ordinary and constant, when, although they have a beast's skin or an English mantle on, yet that covers ordinarily but their hinder parts and all the fore-parts, from top to toe, except the secret parts covered with a little apron, all else open and naked. Their male children go stark naked and have no apron until they come to ten or twelve years of age. Their female they cover with a little apron of a hand breadth from their very birth.

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"Their second nakedness is when their men, often abroad and both men and women within doors, leave off their beast's skin or English cloth and so, excepting their little apron, are wholly naked." They also had "a coat or mantle, curiously made of the fairest feathers of their turkeys, which commonly their old men make; and is with them as velvet is with us. Within their skin or coat they creep contentedly, by day or night, in house, or in the woods, and sleep soundly. Both shoes and stockings they make of their deer skin, worn out, which being excellently tanned by them, is excellent for travel in wet and snow, for it is so well tempered with oil, that the water clean wrings out, and being hanged up in their chimney, they presently dry without hurt. They commonly paint their skins for their summer wearing, with variety of forms and colors. Our English clothes are so strange to them and their bodies inured so to endure the weather that when some of them have had English clothes, yet in a shower of rain, I have seen them rather expose their skins to the wet than their clothes, and therefore pull them off and keep them dry. While they are amongst the English they keep on the English apparel, but pull off all as soon as they come again into their own houses and company. Some cut their hair round and some as low and as short as the sober English, yet I never saw any forget nature in excessive length."

Such citations from contemporary reports could be quoted rather indefinitely, but, due to their similarity, would add nothing of value.

However, at the time of King Philip's War the Springfield Indians had for more than forty years been in close association with their English neighbors. During that period the natives had become civilized as to clothing and had adopted most of the white man's dress, except possibly his hat and shoes. The Indian was not born to the need of a hat, and the toughness of his horn-like feet made the use of shoes unnecessary.

To understand the events relating to the destruction of Springfield by the Indians, a knowledge is necessary of the Indians themselves. To the casual thinker, they were a wild, mysterious people, but to the early settlers, they were merely a pest, adopted in an ill-advised moment, and whom they had to make the best of. They were just a bit less troublesome than the bears and wolves, because, being thinking persons, the fear of punishment could be put into their

minds. Therefore, they were treated much as children of reasonable understanding would have been.

To the final end, the settlers never comprehended the natives and differentiated little between the Indian and the white. The white man brought his produce to the Pynchon store and bartered for clothing, tools or other necessities and so did the Indian in exactly the same way. Debit and credit accounts were kept with English and Indians alike. The natives came and went in the village in as familiar a way as the dogs or the Negro servants, where many were commonly known by their English nicknames. They were made to accept responsibility for their acts and held amenable to the same laws as bound the settlers. Of the native men, there were hardly more than a score in all, each of whom was known by sight and by name, to the villagers of this little English settlement of not more than fifty houses. The old records are quite conclusive on this point.

John Pynchon, in his account books, notes that "in page 20 of old book, John, ye Indian, owes me since 1659 16 shillings, 6 pence, and he can well allow me now 20 shillings." Thus was John being taught the meaning of the word interest, and shown that it applied to overdue accounts.

The court records show that in March, 1665, "an Indian called Sequinnatuck, from Springfield, deserves some help from this court, in respect of a sentence against him by Springfield commissioners for taking two guns from him for Thomas Miller. This court ordered that Springfield commissioners review the case between Thomas Miller and the said Indian." It was the intention, not only to mete out impartial justice to the natives, but if they felt aggrieved, they had the white man's right of appeal to a higher court.

In September, 1666, John Pynchon brought suit against Panesan and his wife Paupsunnuck, for the collection of a mortgage on their land, and the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, for the full amount of his claim, with court costs, which were:

For entry.....	10 Shillings
Witnesses	3 "
Plaintiffs' allowance at court.....	3 "
Attachment	6 Pence
The constable going to Westfield to serve it.....	5 Shillings
Man with the constable, 1 day.....	2 "
<hr/>	
23s 6d	

Small wonder, with the luxury of litigation on such an expensive basis, that in 1670, "Cuttonis the Indian, to prevent a suit at this court from Capt. Pynchon, acknowledges that he owes Capt. Pynchon." At the same court term, "the Indian Wequash, having had damage done him in his corn, a little before this last harvest, by swine, judged at 25 bushels, and four bushels of damage done to Cogoransset, the case being pleaded in court by Samuel Marshfield, the court deter-

mined the owners of the swine should pay them so much corn." Here were two Indians, with a just claim, represented by their attorney, given damages in full.

In 1669, "the Indians of Springfield were presented for breach of ye Sabbath, traveling to and fro, and working, and some of them appearing in court for the rest, and it being found they have been formerly complained of and admonished for ye like offense, they are fined 40-8, vizt, to pay 20 bushels of Indian corn to ye county treasurer for ye use of ye county, but upon their petition for abatement thereof, and promising better order, the fine was brought to 10 bushels Indian corn." The laws of the colony prevented the English from being abroad or working on Sunday and the rule was unquestionably applied to the Indians.

In May, 1671, Allignat alias Neemp, and Wallump complained to the general court that an Indian named Amoakisson had sold to Thomas Cooper a tract of land that was really their property, and that they were unable to obtain any redress or any part of the payment. The matter was referred to the Springfield court, where "the said Indian sachems also here appearing and declaring again their grievance,—Lieutenant Cooper also being present, after debate of the case in court, and between themselves, at last they declared themselves agreed about the matter, vizt,—that Lieutenant Cooper shall and will allow the said Indians, 110 fathom of wampum, 50 fathom whereof is to be paid as he, Lieutenant Cooper receives it of the Indian called Watchwhaet, about whom Lieutenant Cooper hath taken and bestowed much care and pains about his broken bones this summer now past, ye said Indians accepting thereof. And the 60 fathom is to be paid within one year from this time." Thus did the white man guard the wealth and the health of the native.

At the September court, 1672, "Mr. Glover complains against Robin, the Indian, for stealing three or four gold rings and two half crowns, English money, knives &c. Search being made for them, they were found, viz, the rings in his wigwam,—the money he had sold to goodman Ely, and all are restored to Mr. Glover, and Robin, being apprehended and put in prison, he made his escape from the gaoler before other punishment could be inflicted on him."

In March, 1674, "the will and testament of an Indian called Harry, late of Northampton and the inventory of his estate was presented to this court."

At the spring term, 1676, "an Indian called by ye English, Joseph, accused Thomas Wells, Jr., that he sold him the 27th of May, 1675, three quarts of liquors." Just other times, and other reasons. Change the names and the dates and we would have the bootlegger of these days.

The Indians early adopted the English made "Indian coat" which really was but a blanket, but later they dressed much as the settlers did, though perhaps in brighter colors.

Umpanchala's account at the Pynchon store in 1659 and 1660 is indicative of his mode of dress at that time. It includes:

Two blue coats.....	£2-10s
One blue waistcoat.....	12s
One shirt.....	10s
One pair of breeches.....	6s

For the year from September, 1659, to September, 1660, he had of Pynchon, clothing, guns, kettles, etc., to the value of £75, which he paid for in land. If in the 23 years from 1636 to 1659, Umpanchala had progressed from native skins, to shirts, coats, waistcoats, and breeches, it is fair to assume that Toto, living in an older and earlier settled community would dress much like an Englishman. Especially does this seem true when it is considered that aside from the question of comfort and convenience, the English clothing was much more economical for the Indians.

The most desired fur was that of the beaver and it was also the most plentiful, and the easiest to acquire. With the exception of the otter, it was the most durable of native furs. The average beaver skin measured 24 by 36 inches or six square feet, and the standard of weight was four ounces per square foot, or a pound and half to a skin. Pynchon paid 10 shillings a pound for beaver, which made the average skin worth 15 shillings. Two-thirds of a yard of any material of a yard in width would not go very far toward the making of a pair of breeches such as Pynchon sold for six shillings—only two-fifths of what he would pay for a skin of that size. And the saving of labor involved in the making of skins into garments was an item of importance to the indolent natives.

Thus it seems reasonable to say that by 1675, these local Indians, as they paddled their dug-outs up and down the river, or lolled about the town street, or came to the village store for a chat, or for clothing or provisions, differed little in appearance from the English settlers.

Misled by romantic tales, it may be argued that while such dress may have been worn by Indians of the village, that in war time they would revert to a primitive costume, but there is abundant testimony to the contrary.

In February, 1676, Lancaster was assaulted by the Indians and Mary Rowlandson, wife of the town pastor, was taken captive. Eventually she was ransomed but for nearly 12 weeks she accompanied the natives as they wandered from place to place. She was present when various towns were attacked, and saw the loot and the prisoners brought in. She was compelled to labor for her captors, and from her narrative these items are culled:

“I was at this time knitting a pair of white stockings for my mistress,” that is, the squaw in whose charge she was.

“Another asked me to knit a pair of stockings. Then came an Indian to me with a pair of stockings which were too big for him, and he would have me ravel them out, and knit them fit for him.

“Then came an Indian and asked me to knit him three pair of stockings. To make a shirt for his boy, which I did. He asked me to make a shirt for a papoose. If I would make another shirt for a papoose, not yet born.

"Bid me make a shirt for his papoose, of a Holland laced pillow-beer," which he had taken at the sack of some town.

"Another asked me to make her a shirt, for which she gave me an apron. He asked me to make a cap for his boy."

But even more conclusive was an event when they had just crossed Millers River and were on their way to Wachuset (Princeton).

"In that time came a company of Indians to us, near 30, all on horseback. My heart skipped within me, thinking they had been Englishmen, at the first sight of them, for they were dressed in English apparel, with hats, white neck cloths and sashes about their waists and ribbons upon their shoulders."

There were feast days for the Indians. The sacking of the towns and the plunder secured, enabled them to indulge their fancies to an unusual degree, and probably many a hitherto meagerly attired native was more fully decked out with the coveted white man's attire than was usual to him. That it was desired and acquired whenever possible, store accounts and records show. That it was a much sought object of loot, there is much evidence.

Toto was a protege of the Wolcott family at Windsor, and undoubtedly dressed as did his fellows of both races. A bronze statue of the savior of Springfield, in such a garb, would of course be an incongruous thing, but a representation of an Indian in proper native dress, erected frankly as a mere memorial to friendly Indian, would be most appropriate, whether the setting was Forest Park or Long Hill. But such a representation should not include the many-feathered head dress—the so-called "war bonnet," worn by the Indians of the Western plains. While such a bit of finery might have been desirable on the open prairie, it would have been most unsuited for the use of the woods Indians of New England and was never worn by them.

During the 40 years from the settlement in 1636, up to the time of King Philip's war, the growth of Springfield was slight in comparison with that of the Connecticut towns, lower down on the river, which had been established at about the same time. A manuscript in the British museum cited in Judd's *History of Hadley*, gives an account of all the trading towns and ports upon the sea and navigable rivers, with the number of houses in each town," in 1675. Included in this list are:

Hartford	500	houses
Windsor	400	"
Wethersfield	150	"
Farmington	100	"
Northampton	100	"
Hadley	100	"
Hatfield	50	"
Springfield	50	"
Northfield	30	"
Deerfield	30	"

This meager showing for Springfield was in part due to a pre-conceived plan to make the settlement a community of picked men.

It was May 14, 1636 that the settlers affirmed: "We intend that our town shall be composed of 40 families, or if we think mete, after, to alter our purpose, yet not to exceed the number of 50 families, rich and poor. Every inhabitant shall have a convenient proportion for a house lot, as we shall see mete, for every ones quality and estate." Under the dominating Pynchon influence, this plan was rather strictly adhered to, and many a desirous settler was warned out of town.

In accordance with this scheme, the plot from the town street to the river, and from Cypress to York Streets was divided up into some 40 house lots, 80 rods long, from the street to the river. Most of these were eight rods wide, making an area of four acres, but to Pynchon, his son-in-law Henry Smith, Jehu Burr and others who had forwarded and financed the project, larger tracts were allotted. Pynchon was also given 17 acres between York Street and Mill River, for a mill project. The land to the north and to the south was designed for pasturage and the Agawam meadows for planting grounds.

For transportation between these planting grounds and their homes, the pioneers used canoes. While the bark canoe of northern New England was not entirely unknown here, it was the dug-out of the local natives that was in common use. This was not only an unwieldy craft, but it was very laboriously made and trees of a size and quality suitable for its fashioning were hard to obtain. Due to the custom of the natives of burning over the land each spring and fall there was little real timber. In Massachusetts as a whole there is today probably greater forest area than there was when the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620. Consequently, in 1638, stringent rules were applied to the cutting of trees, and in 1639 the scarcity of canoes was such that it was ordered that no one was "to sell or anyways pass away any canoe out of ye plantation." These conditions all added to the natural handicaps encountered in wresting a livelihood from the wilderness.

When the restraining hand of the master was removed by the return of William Pynchon to England about 1652 the tracts north to Round Hill and south of Mill River were divided into lots, but these were not used to encourage the bringing in of new settlers. They were allotted to the members of the community, and very shortly a considerable proportion of them came into the hands of John Pynchon, either for debt or by way of exchange.

It was of course impossible for the settlers to support themselves on these pitiful little farms made necessary by the unfortunate situation of the town. It resulted in the refusal of some of the original projectors to even attempt to settle. Others became discouraged and left after a year or two. Children married, but having no place to build, were forced to remain under the parental roof tree. There was a gradual reaching out and search for greater opportunities where agricultural requirements could be more fully met. Whole families dropped out to try their fortunes in the territories which later became West Springfield, Westfield, Longmeadow, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield and Deerfield.

This all resulted in the town becoming an industrial community whose people derived the major part of their living, directly or indirectly, from the Pynchon enterprises. These were of vast proportions, considering the times and conditions, the first being the grist mill on Mill River. John Pynchon became a merchant with such a varied and complete stock that his retail trade extended from Hadley and Northampton even to Windsor and Wethersfield. He had storehouses at Warehouse Point and docks and warehouses at Boston, where his two sons and his son-in-law received and forwarded the imports and exports. He also had an extensive plant at the Barbadoes. In 1652 he was a one-sixteenth part owner in the ship *Mayflower*. In 1659 he owned the ship *Desire*, and by 1675 the *John's Adventure* had been added to his fleet. In 1685 a ship was built for him at the Marshall shipyard in Windsor. In 1689 he was a one-eighth part owner of the ketch *Northerne Venture*, trading to the West Indies. All these, and others, were freighting out Connecticut Valley products and bringing in goods for the colonists.

In 1649 William Pynchon was associated with John Winthrop, the younger, in developing the graphite mine at Tantiusques, Stephen Day being the resident agent at the property.

Every natural product was utilized to its fullest extent. In 1692 a plant was established for the distillation of turpentine and the manufacture of rosin. By 1698 a blast furnace and foundry was in operation on Mill River, using native ore brought from south of the Chicopee River at Chicopee Falls.

But all these enterprises were overshadowed in volume and extent by the fur trade, founded by William Pynchon and continued by his son John. Their plan was the same as that adopted years later by the great Hudson Bay Company and so successfully carried on for two and a half centuries.

At Albany, Timothy Cooper had charge of the trading house and at Housatonic was Major Hawthorne, ancestor of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Thomas Cooper was at Westfield, Joseph Parsons and John Webb at Nalwatog, and Benjamin Waite and John Westarr at Hadley.

From this small territory, great quantities of furs were taken. For the three years, 1652 to 1654, inclusive, the beaver skins alone averaged 2,000 a year. At 10 shillings a pound this would equal about \$7,500 a year, quite a sizable sum for those days. Some idea of the importance of the younger Pynchon's activities is gained by comparing his results with those of the Hudson Bay Company, the greatest fur company of history, which began collecting furs in the winter of 1668-69. After two seasons' operations it held its first sale at London in December, 1671, when 2,000 beaver skins were sold. This comparatively small quantity of a thousand skins a year, but half of Pynchon's average was in spite of the fact that it had the whole northern part of North America to draw on, while Pynchon was limited to a corner of Massachusetts.

These varied undertakings required the services of every able-bodied man in the town. John Matthews was the cooper who made the hogsheads in which the furs were shipped to England and the firkins in which butter was packed for the Boston market, the vats for the Pynchon cider mill and miscellaneous containers for individual use of the settlers.

Anthony Dorchester was in charge of the grist mill in William Pynchon's day but when John Pynchon built the saw mill on Mill River in 1667, Dorchester took over the saw mill and John Warner became the miller. Cornelius Williams was paid £45 for "making ye saw mill, ye whole worke." Dorchester contracted "to cart all the timber for the saw mill wherever Mr. Andrews and Cornelius shall need it."

Samuel Terry and Benjamin Cooley were weavers of linen. John Stewart shod the horses and oxen, made the household utensils and builders' hardware as well as tomahawks for the Indian trade and tools for the graphite mine.

Samuel Marshfield and Thomas Stebbins both were tailors, making clothing for the townspeople as well as for the shelves of the Pynchon store—the coats, waist coats and breeches bought alike by white men and red men. John Ladd was the tanner who prepared the leather for shoes, harness and saddlery. His shop was on Garden Brook, near where the Hampden Paint Company now is. Hugh Parsons was a bricklayer. Rowland Thomas carted stone from "the hither stone place," for foundations and fireplaces.

The tiny windows of the houses and the church were made by John Gilbert. John Hitchcock made charcoal for the blacksmith and the blast furnace for which he was paid twelve shillings for each load of ninety-six bushels.

Miles Morgan and Thomas Merrick made numberless journeys to the storehouses at the foot of the falls at Warehouse Point, carrying down produce for shipment and bringing back the goods which Pynchon's sea-going ships unloaded there.

Daniel Denton was the schoolmaster and George Moxon the pastor until he was succeeded by Pelatiah Glover. Nathaniel Ely kept the inn and Simon Lobdel was keeper of the house of correction, which was on Maple Street, south of Temple.

Even the women and children contributed their share, stringing literally miles of wampum beads, which were brought from the coast in bulk—twenty-four beads to the hand, ten hands to the fathom. The fifty fathoms of wampum given for the land at Agawam in 1666 was made up of 12,000 tiny shell beads, strung by some industrious housewife.

It was very nearly a self-contained and self-supporting community. The fifty houses which made up the town probably cared for sixty to seventy families, with a total population of some four hundred people.

Such was the local situation when the Indians began their war of extermination in 1675.

CHAPTER V

Indian Canoes

IN POPULAR fancy, the birch bark canoe is typical of the Indian and so has become a symbol of the entire race. In fact, it was known and used in a very small part of America.

It has been said, that south of 42°-45" north latitude, the canoe birch (*betula papyrifera*) did not grow to a size sufficient for the making of a canoe. As this is the vicinity of Cape Ann on the Atlantic and the Mohawk River in New York State, the statement seems to be substantiated by accounts of early writers. Reference here, is of course to the aboriginal canoe, made of one piece of bark. In more modern times, as adequate adhesives became available, canoes were made of cemented sheets of bark, taken from smaller trees, which apparently could be found as far south as Pennsylvania.

As will be here shown, the birch bark canoe was in common use by the natives of the Atlantic coast from Cape Ann to Labrador; of both sides of the St. Lawrence River and of the north shore of the Great Lakes. South of the Great Lakes, the Iroquois used elm and possibly oak bark. In practically all the rest of the present United States, before the coming of Europeans, water transport was by the dug-out canoe.

Cartier seems to be the earliest explorer to leave any mention of bark canoes. At the Strait of Belle Isle, north of Newfoundland, in 1534, he saw the Indians with "canoes made of bark in which they go about and from which they catch many seals".

In May, 1603, at Tadoussac, Champlain saw "nearly two hundred canoes, which go wonderfully fast; for although our shallop was well manned, yet they went faster than ourselves. Two only do the work of propelling the boat, a man and a woman. Their canoes are from eight to nine paces long and about a pace or pace and a half broad in the middle, growing narrower towards the two ends. They are very apt to turn over, in case one does not understand managing them, and are made of birch bark, strengthened on the inside by little ribs of white cedar, very neatly arranged. They are so light that a man can easily carry one. Each can carry a weight equal to that of a pipe. When they want to go overland to a river where they have business, they carry them with them. From Chouacoet (Saco, Maine) all along the coast as far as the harbor of Tadoussac, they are all alike".

On Champlain's map illustrating the defeat of the Iroquois at Lake Champlain in 1608, he designates the location of the "canoes of the enemy (Iroquois) made of oak bark, each holding ten, fifteen or eighteen men" and the "Canoes of our allied savages (Montagnais, Hurons and Algonquins) made of birch bark".

On July 16, 1605, Champlain came to Cape Ann, the latitude of which he gave as "forty-three degrees and some minutes". Passing Emmerson's Point, the eastern extremity of Cape Ann, he anchored near Thatcher's Island, where he found the canoes of the natives "made of birch bark, like those of the Canadians, Souriquois and Etechemins". Continuing, they "sailed seven or eight leagues and anchored near an island" which is supposed to have been Noddle's Island in Boston Harbor. "The canoes of those who live there are made of a single piece, and are very liable to upset if one is not skillful in managing them. We had not before seen any of this kind. They are made in the following manner. After cutting down, at a cost of much labor and time, the largest and tallest tree they can find, by means of stone hatchets, they remove the bark and round off the tree except on one side, where they apply fire gradually along its entire length and sometimes they put red hot pebble stones on top. When the fire is too fierce, they extinguish it with a little water, not entirely, but so that the edge of the boat may not be burnt. When it is as hollow as they wish, they scrape it all over with stones, which they use instead of knives. These stones resemble our musket flints."

The Canadians were the Indians in the neighborhood of Quebec. The Souriquois were those people of Nova Scotia, subsequently known as the Micmacks. The Etechemins occupied the territory from Saco, Maine, to Saint John, New Brunswick. The Montagnais were a tribe roaming over a vast territory; an indefinite region on the north side of the St. Lawrence, whose headquarters were at Tadoussac. The Hurons occupied the eastern bank of Lake Huron and the southern shores of Georgian Bay. The Algonquins were of the regions of the Ottawa. To all these Champlain assigned the birch bark canoe.

Father Le Jeune first arrived at Tadoussac on June 18, 1632, where he "saw savages for the first time. As soon as they saw our vessel, two of them came on board in a little canoe very neatly made of bark".

De Vries went up the Hudson in 1638 and at the Mohawk found that "their canoes or boats are made of the bark of trees and will carry five or six persons. They also hollow out trees and use them for boats and skiffs, some of which are very large, and I have frequently seen eighteen or twenty seated in a hollow log go along the river and I have myself had a wooden canoe in which I could carry two hundred and twenty five bushels of maize". This reference to log canoes is obviously to the canoes of the lower Hudson, where De Vries had his home.

Van der Donck, at the Mohawk, in 1655, also found that "the Indians, when they travel by water, usually come in canoes made of the bark of trees, which they know how to construct".

Joseph Hadfield was in Montreal in 1785. On July 25 he "was favored with the particulars of the articles for the loading of a canoe" of a trader. The items included sixty-four packages of merchandise, weighing 5,540 pounds, the crew of nine and their belongings adding 2,710 pounds, making the total of the weight carried, 8,250 pounds, or four and a quarter tons. "These canoes are about 35 feet long, 4½ broad and thirty inches deep. They have eight men and a clerk. As the construction of the canoes is extremely curious that are made use



Indians Making Dugout Canoe

of in the Indian trade, I have procured a tolerable description of the mode of making them. They pick out a thick, tall elm, with a smooth bark, and with as few branches as possible. This tree is cut down and great care is taken to prevent the bark being hurt by falling against other trees, or against the ground. With this view some people do not fell the tree but climb up to the top of them, split the bark and strip it off. The bark is split on one side, in a straight line along the tree, as long as the canoe is intended to be. At the same time the bark is carefully cut from the stem a little way on both sides of the split, that it may separate more easily. The bark is then peeled off carefully and particular care is taken not to make any holes in it. This is not difficult when the sap is in the trees and at other seasons the tree is heated by fire for that purpose. The bark thus split off is spread on the ground in a smooth place, turning the inside downwards and the rough outside upwards and to stretch it better some logs of wood or stones are put on it, which press it down. Then the sides of the bark are gently pressed upwards, in order to form the sides of the boat. Some sticks are then fixed into the ground at a distance of

three or four feet from each other in the canoe line, in which the sides of the boat are intended to be, supporting the bark intended for the sides. The sides of the bark are then bent in the form which the canoe is to have and according to that, the sticks are put either nearer or farther off. The ribs of the boat are made of cedar, sometimes hickory, both being tough and pliable. These are cut into flat pieces about an inch thick and bent into the form the ribs require, according to their places, either in the broader or narrower part of the canoe. Being thus bent, they are put across the bottom pretty close, a few inches asunder. The upper edge on each side of the boat is made of two poles of the length of the boat, which are put close together, on the side of the boat, being flat where they are to be joined. The edge of the bark is put between these two poles and sewed up with the thread of gut of the moose, wood or other tough bark, or with roots. But before it is thus sewed up, the ends of the ribs are likewise put between the two poles, one on each side, taking care to keep them at same distance from each other. After this is done, the poles are sewed together and being bent properly, both their ends join at each end of the boat where they are fastened together. To prevent the widening of the boat, several transverse bands or boards are put across which serve as well for seats as to strengthen it. As the bark at the two ends of the boat cannot be put so close together, or sewed, which is the mode in general, so as to keep the water out, the crevices are stopped up with crushed or pounded bark of the said elm, which in that state looks like oakum. As the foot could easily pierce the boat, without some precaution, they lay long poles at the bottom, lengthway, which pressing equally on all parts, serve to support and strengthen it, taking the load or weight that is in it. They also lay thin, loose boards at the bottom to keep the goods dry. The inside of the bark thus becomes the outside of the boat, because it is smooth and slippery and cuts the water better. They are very particular in the choice of the bark to see that it is sound and has no holes or broken parts. All possible precautions must be taken in rowing on the rivers and lakes, for as there are trees and other impediments which are concealed in the water, the boat might easily run against a sharp branch which would tear the canoe from one end to the other, if they were paddling or rowing fast. But of all the dangers the shallows or rapids are the worst and the navigation of the Grande Rivière is full of them. The people are often exposed and yet few accidents happen."

In appraising the value of Hadfield's description it must be realized that, in point of time, he was far from the primitive and almost into the industrial age. He was describing canoes, which if not actually made by Europeans, were at least designed for their particular needs. They were the freight carrying craft of the traders on the long and arduous journey up the St. Lawrence, through Lake Ontario, Lake Erie and Lake Huron to Michilimackinac, on the upper peninsula of Michigan. For such use, Elm bark would have been far more durable than birch.

On coming to America, Hadfield landed in Virginia, proceeding by degrees to Montreal. Of canoes seen in other localities, he said, "There is also another sort of canoe made out of the trunks of trees, mostly a solid piece hollowed out. Many of these are forty feet long and two wide. They are generally made use of throughout these countries and are very serviceable". Finally, he adds, "The people, both Canadians as well as Indians are very dexterous in the managing of them".

André Michaux (1746-1802), a French botanist, resided in America from 1785 to 1796 for the purpose of studying, for the French Government, the plants and natural resources of the country. His son, François André Michaux (1770-1855), accompanied him from 1785 until 1790 and came again, 1801-1803 and 1805-1808. François Michaux published in 1810, 1812, 1813, the three-volume *Histoire des Arbres Forestiers de l'Amerique Septentrionale*. An English edition was published in three volumes in 1817-1819, under the title, *The North American Sylva*. Volume 2, page 87, reads thus,—

"In Canada, and in the District of Maine, the country people place large pieces of the canoe birch immediately below the shingles of the roof, to form a more impenetrable covering for their houses; baskets, boxes, and portfolios are made of it, which are sometimes embroidered with silk of different colors; divided into very thin sheets, it forms a substitute for paper; and, placed between the soles of the shoes and in the crown of the hat, it is a defence against humidity. But the most important purpose to which it is applied, and one in which it is replaced by the bark of no other tree, is the construction of canoes. To secure proper pieces, the largest and smoothest trunks are selected; in the spring, two circular incisions are made, several feet apart, and two longitudinal ones on opposite sides of the tree; after which, by introducing a wooden wedge, the bark is easily detached. These plates are usually ten or twelve feet long, and two feet nine inches broad. To form the canoe, they are stitched together with fibrous roots of the white spruce, about the size of a quill, which are deprived of the bark, split, and suppled in water. The seams are coated with resin of the Balm of Gilead. Great use is made of these canoes by the savages and by the French Canadians, in their long journeys into the interior of the country; they are very light, and are easily transported on the shoulders from one lake or river to another, which is called the portage. A canoe calculated for four persons with their baggage, weighs from forty to fifty pounds; some of them are made to carry fifteen passengers."

John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843), a British botanist, published, 1833-1839, *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*. Though he does not appear to have ever visited America, in volume 3, page 1709, he has this to say of the birch,—

"In the settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company, tents are made from the bark of the canoe birch, which, for that purpose, is cut into pieces twelve feet long and four feet wide. These are sewed together by threads of the white spruce roots, already mentioned;

and so rapidly is a tent put up, that a circular one of twenty feet in diameter and ten feet high does not occupy more than half an hour in pitching. The utility of these 'rind tents', as they are called, is acknowledged by every traveller and hunter in the Canadas. They are used throughout the whole year; but, during the hot months of June, July, and August, they are found particularly comfortable."

In *A Report on the Trees and Shrubs Growing Naturally in the Forests of Massachusetts* (1846), G. B. Emerson said,—

"From the tough, incorruptible bark of the canoe birch, were formed the canoes of the former inhabitants of New England, models of ingenuity and taste, so admirably adapted, by their lightness and shape, to the interrupted navigation of the savage.

"This birch, in some parts of the northern regions, attains a diameter of six or seven feet. It is said not to occur far south of the Hudson."

The 1875 edition of the same work adds this,—

"The paper birch is a northern tree, being found as far north as 65°. It grows naturally on river banks and in moist, deep soil, flourishing in almost any situation, but never attaining a very large size in Massachusetts.

"Formerly, when large old trees of this species were more common, the bark was used in the manner described by Michaux, being placed beneath the shingles. Many old buildings in the back part of New England are still found covered in this way. Carefully laid, it makes a covering impenetrable to rain, and a most effectual screen against heat and cold; and it is almost imperishable."

So much for bark canoes.

In 1524, Verrazzano came into New York Harbor and coasted easterly to Rhode Island. He "saw many of their boats, made of one tree, twenty feet long and four feet broad, without the aid of stone or iron or any other metal. To hollow out their boats they burn out as much of the log as is requisite and also from the prow and stern to make them float well on the sea." Proceeding up a river, they "found it formed a lake three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes". Coming to the Narragansett, they "saw about twenty small boats, full of people". There, also, "they construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out with admirable skill, and sufficiently commodious to contain ten or twelve persons; their oars are short and broad at the end and are managed in rowing by force of the arms alone, with perfect security and as nimbly as they choose".

To this seasoned mariner, with all the traditions of the sea, there was something unique in the use of paddles without benefit of rowlocks or tholes.

In 1584, Arthur Barlowe wrote from Roanoke, Virginia, to Raleigh that "their boats are made of one tree, either of pine or pitch trees; a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge tools to make them. Their manner of making their boats is thus: they burn down some great

tree, or take such as are wind fallen and putting gum and rosen upon one side thereof, they set fire into it and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coal with their shells and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider they lay on gums, which burn away the timber and by this means they fashion very fine boats such as will transport twenty men. Their oars are like scoops and many times they set with long poles, as the depth serveth”.

At New York, in 1609, Hudson found “two canoes, one having twelve, the other fourteen men”. Later “there came eight and twenty canoes, full of men, women and children”.

At Lord Baltimore’s plantation in Maryland, in 1634, “it was worth the hearing, of those who understood them, to hear what admiration at our ship; calling it a canoe and wondering where so great a tree grew that made it, conceiving it to be made of one tree, as their canoes are”.

In 1643, Roger Williams said, in regard to “an Indian boat or canoe, made of a pine, or oak, or chestnut tree,—I have seen a native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a basket of corn with him and stones to strike fire. When he had felled his tree, being a chestnut, he made him a little house or shed of the bark of it; he puts fire and follows the burning of it with fire in the midst in many places. So he continues, burning and hewing, until he hath, within ten or twelve days finished and getting hands, launched his boat, with which afterwards he ventures out to fish in the ocean. Some of them will not carry above three or four, but some of them twenty, thirty, forty men”.

What knowledge the first settlers may have had of dugout canoes, before coming to America, is a question. Canoes, hollowed from the trunks of oaks, seem to have been used by the early inhabitants of the British Isles, having been dug up in considerable numbers in England, Scotland, and Ireland. They appear to have been chiefly of two sorts,—one about ten feet long with square ends and projecting handles; the other about twenty feet long, sometimes sharp at both ends and sometimes round at the prow and square at the stern.

In recent years, a number of so-called Indian canoes have been retrieved from bogs and ponds in New England and adjacent states by Civilian Conservation Camp Workers and others. In all the examples seen by this writer lack of any burning is most apparent and the use of steel tools is plainly shown. Apparently they were all of English fashioning and seem much akin to those dug up in the British Isles. There is reasonable ground for suspicion that some specimens now in museums, labeled “Indian canoes”, are of this same type.

In any event, the English appear to have very readily adopted them for use here, though they were greatly handicapped by scant forest growth and consequent lack of adequate material. So scarce were suitable trees that steps were early taken for their conservation.

At Springfield, February 14, 1638-39, it was provided that trees for making canoes might be taken by any inhabitant, on condition that

they were for the use of himself or his neighbors, but April 16, 1640, it was "ordered that no man shall fell any canoe tree that shall be within the bounds of the plantation". Here was a tract of at least twenty-five or thirty square miles, with a total adult white population of but seventeen, in which there were not available enough canoe trees so that they could be freely used. Less than one tree to a square mile would have provided a canoe for every inhabitant.



Dugout Canoe Retrieved From a Swamp

In all the existing accounts of occurrences at Springfield, there is but a single mention of birch bark canoes. In an undated letter, written about 1640, George Moxon wrote Governor Winthrop that "Mr. Pyncheon lately lost a boy who too venturously went into a birchen canoe, which overturned, and he was drowned". It is improbable that this birch canoe was indigenous. Prior to coming to Springfield, Pyncheon had been a trader on the Maine coast. There he might have acquired such a craft which could have been readily brought to Springfield in one of the shallops, continually bringing freight.

The reliance placed on these canoes is attested at Springfield. In 1638, famine threatened the towns on the Connecticut and William Pyncheon was charged with not acting in the public interest in efforts to procure corn from the Indians, to relieve the situation. Being greatly handicapped by lack of transportation facilities, it was argued that in the emergency he should have seized on the canoes of his

neighbors. Of one who refused to lend his, Pynchon said that he "entreated Mr. Moxon, living next door, to borrow it. But the owner refused to lend it, because, notwithstanding his daily need of it, the Indians would not promise to bring it up again till fishing time, which was about six weeks after. Then I was charged with neglect of duty because I did not press the canoe for the Indian's use. Truly, the king might as legally exact a loan ex officio of his subjects, by a distress on men's proprieties (because he pleads a great necessity) as to press a canoe without a legal order".

In May, 1645, at Springfield, it was ordered "that whosoever shall take away any man's canoe without his leave, shall be liable to the fine of 2s-6d".

At Newport, R. I., in 1640, a treaty with the sachem, Miantonomo, included the provision "that no Indian shall take any canoe from the English and the like not to be done to them".

CHAPTER VI

Indian Aliment

BY THE conveyance with which William Pynchon on July 15, 1636 acquired from the Indians, the land which became Springfield, in Massachusetts, it was provided that "the said Indians shall have and enjoy all that cottinackeesh, or ground that is now planted and have liberty to take fish and deer, ground nuts, walnuts, acorns and sasachiminesh, or a kind of pease, and if any of our cattle spoil their corn, to pay as it is worth".

These reservations are of considerable interest as they throw quite a bit of light on the food sources of the natives.

Cottinackeesh is a compound word composed of kitkan, "plantation", and auk, "land", with a plural ending, thus meaning "plantation grounds". Presumably the natives used these tracts for growing, not only the corn, for the welfare of which they were so solicitous, but also tobacco, beans, squashes and pumpkins.

Roger Williams, in 1643, said of the Indians, that "askutasquash are their vine apples, which the English from them call squashes, about the bigness of apples and of several colors: a sweet, light, wholesome refreshing".

Lionel Gardiner sent from Gardiner's Island to John Winthrop, at New London on February 28, 1652-53, "a variety of seed which came from the Mohawks, which is a kind of melons, but far excelleth all others. They are as good as wheat flour to thicken milk and sweet as sugar, and baked they are most excellent, having no shell. You may keep them as long as any pumpkins".

In an essay submitted to the Royal Society in 1662, John Winthrop said that "the Indians and some English, at every hill of corn will plant a kind of bean called French beans or turkey beans and between the hills they plant squashes and pompions, the stalks of the corn serving instead of poles for the beans to climb up".

The berry called sasachiminesh, unfamiliar to Pynchon and which, being then immature and green in color, he likened to the garden pea, was really the cranberry. The date of Pynchon's comment was July 15, old style, the equivalent of July 26 of the present calendar, at which time cranberries are about the size of large buckshot or small green peas.

The prefix, sasa, is a reduplicative form of see, "sour"; chi, "big"; min, "berry", and esh, a plural ending, thus meaning, "very sour, big berries". Roger Williams called cranberries, "sasemineash", which is quite similar to Pynchon's form of the word, except that it lacks the adjective, "chi", and so means merely, "very sour berries". Williams said that the cranberry was "another sharp, cooling fruit, growing in fresh waters all winter, excellent in conserve against fevers".

Every schoolboy recalls the sufferings of the Pilgrims at Plymouth that first winter of 1620. Deaths were constant and the living were scarce able to care for the sick and the dying or even to bury their dead. A similar experience was had by the Puritans who came to Boston ten years later.

Modern science has shown that their ills were caused by scurvy, brought on by the long sea voyage and consequent lack of succulent vegetables, with their vitamin C content.

Whatever knowledge the Pilgrims may have had as to the cause of their trouble, the Puritans at Boston most certainly understood at least its remedy. Though it was not until 1636 that John Woodhall, master in surgery, published his "Surgeon's Mate, or Military and Domestic Medicine", in which he called attention to the sterling virtues of lemon juice, yet it is apparent that even prior to that time, some knowledge was had of the remedy. Governor Winthrop's wife planned to come to Boston a year later than did her husband and profiting by his own sad experience, he especially stressed that she provide "juyce of lemons" for her voyage.

In 1795, citrus juices, as a preventative of scurvy were made a required element of diet in the British navy, and so universal did the custom become, that navy men were nicknamed "lime juicers".

On Governor Winthrop's arrival in New England in June, 1630, he ordered that Captain Pierce return to England with the ship *Lyon* for lemons. It was a long and cruel wait as that ship did not return to Boston until January 9, 1630-31. In the meantime, recorded Winthrop, "the people were much afflicted with scurvy and many died, but when this ship came and brought juice of lemons, many speedily recovered".

Had they but realized it, these people had at their very doors, an adequate remedy for their sore condition, for the cranberry, which grew so bounteously about them, has an equal vitamin C content with the lemon. The berry is noticeably firm when ripe and when protected by snow, remains on the vine all winter, so that it was available to the pioneers in those harrowing days. Col. James Smith, who was captured by the French and Indians at Fort Duquesne in 1755 and lived for four years with the Indians said that "about the sides of the pond there grew great abundance of cranberries, which the Indians gathered upon the ice when the pond was frozen over. These berries were about as large as rifle bullets, of a bright red color, an agreeable sour, though rather too sour of themselves, but when mixed

with sugar had a very agreeable taste''. From other statements of Smith, it is obvious that maple sugar is here implied.

Though the small or European cranberry is indigenous to northern England, it is doubtful if it was known to these people from the more southerly parts of that country, who came to New England in the early days. Here, however, it was known and used by the Indians, though obviously without any understanding as to the reason for its value. Moreover, the English berry was much smaller and far less attractive in color than that of New England, so that its kinship would not have been readily apparent. Further evidence that it was not common in England is shown in the account books of John Hull, the mint-master and maker of the Pine Tree shillings. He was also a merchant in Boston and (circa 1675) made several shipments of cranberries to London. Ten barrels were sent as a gift to King Charles II. Thus early did the English come to appreciate cranberries.

It would appear that with a better knowledge of the natural resources of their adopted country, the worst horrors of their early days in New England might have been spared these pioneers.

The value of the vitamin C content of the cranberry was undoubtedly recognized by the Indians, though in an unscientific and unthinking way. Through many years of selecting and experimenting, the natives had learned just what natural resources were of value, as did the beasts and the birds. It was a generally accepted fact that any red berry had its virtues while any blue one was questioned by the children of the forest. Much of the brawn and stamina was quite possible due to the cranberry.

The ground nut of the Indians (*apios tuberosa*) though quite common, is today little known. It is a member of the pea family, with a vine five to ten feet long, growing in damp places, often along the borders of marshes. In its root system are tubers, one to three inches in diameter which are sweet and edible. They may be eaten raw, but boiled or roasted are fully equal to the white potato. If we did not have the potato, the ground nut probably would have long since been developed into a staple article of food. According to Winslow, the Pilgrims "were forced to live on ground nuts" during their first winter in New England. In colonial days, the Swedes on the Delaware ate them for want of bread.

Roger Williams said in 1643 that "the Indians have an art of drying their chestnuts and so preserve them in their barns for a dainty all the year. They also dry acorns and in case of want of corn, by much boiling, they make a good dish of them. Sometimes even in plenty of corn they eat these acorns for a novelty".

The barns here mentioned were the native storehouses, in use wherever the Indians wintered, and by the English were called "Indian barns". John Winthrop described them in 1662 as being "holes in the ground, well lined with withered grass and mats and then covered with the like and over that, covered with earth, and so it keeps very well".

Bradford said that on one of the first exploring trips of the Pilgrims on Cape Cod, they came upon "heaps of sand, newly paddled with their hands, which we, digging up, found in them, divers fair Indian baskets, filled with corn and some in ears, of divers colors, a very goodly sight, having never seen such before". Shortly after, they found "more of their corn and of their beans, of various colors".

Acorns in the natural state contain far too much tannic acid to be palatable. The natives first roasted them that they might be thoroughly dried. In December, 1620, at their first coming, the Pilgrims found baskets of roasted acorns which the Indians had buried for future use. With a mortar and stone pestle, the dried nuts were ground into meal and then boiled or soaked in water for a day or two to dissolve out the bitter substances. After draining, the material was moulded into cakes and baked or mixed with other food.

It would naturally be expected that the Indians would make use of the nut of the shagbark hickory, the king of all New England walnuts and evidence found about old camp sites confirms that expectation. Williams makes no mention of walnuts as food, merely saying that of them the Indians "make an excellent oil for many uses but especially for the anointing of their heads". The meat of the nut was undoubtedly used also for food, just as were the chestnuts and acorns.

The Pyncheon document therefore suggests that the Indians had available, tobacco, acorns, walnuts, beans, squashes, corn, pumpkins, cranberries, maple sugar, ground nuts, venison and fish. Probably salmon and shad were relied on when those fish came up the river at spawning time. At other seasons trout, bass, pickerel and other well-known varieties could be had in abundance.

This dietary list is considerably amplified and extended by Roger Williams in his *Key Into the Language of America*, a phrase-book published in 1643. After giving the meaning of an Indian word, he frequently added a short paragraph explanatory of the unfamiliar object mentioned. By bringing together these terse notes, quite a complete picture of Indian life is drawn. The following excerpts, appearing in quotation marks, are from that source, except as otherwise noted. Slight paraphrasing has been necessary to fit them to the context, but the meaning has in no way been altered.

"From thick, warm valleys where they winter, the Indians remove a little nearer to their summer fields; when it is warm spring, then they remove to their fields where they plant corn. When a field is to be broken up they have a very loving, sociable, speedy way to despatch it. All the neighbors, men, and women, forty, fifty, a hundred, join and come in to help freely. With friendly joining they break up their fields, build their forts, hunt the woods, stop and kill fish in the rivers".

"The women set, plant, weed, hill and gather and barn all the corn and fruits of the field, yet, sometimes the man himself, either out of love to his wife or care for his children or being an old man,

will help the woman, which, by the custom of the country they are not bound to. The women beat all the corn by hand. They plant it, dress it, gather it and barn it. It is almost incredible what burdens the poor women carry of corn, of fish, of beans and a child besides. Notwithstanding our hoes, the Indian women to this day use their natural hoes of shells and wood”.

Elsewhere, Williams qualified this, saying that “some old and poor women, fearful to leave the old tradition, use wooden hoes to this day”.

“The woman of the family will commonly raise two or three heaps of twelve, fifteen or twenty bushels a heap and much more if she have help of her children, which they dry in round broad heaps. They dry the corn carefully upon heaps and mats many days before they barn it up, covering it with mats at night and opening when the sun is hot”.

“Their corn be of divers sorts and colors. Indian corn, keeping the body in a constant looseness, it is the opinion of some skillful in physic, that if the use of it were known and received in England, all of it, either boiled in milk or buttered, it might have thousands of lives, occasioned by the binding nature of English wheat. I cannot hear of any disease of the stone amongst the Indians, the corn of the country being an admirable cleanser and opener.”

“Nokehick is parched meal, which is a ready, very wholesome food, which they eat with a little water, hot or cold. I have traveled with near two hundred of them at once near one hundred miles through the woods, every man carrying a little basket of this at his back and sometimes in a leather girdle about his middle, sufficient for a man three or four days. With a spoonful of this meal and a spoonful of water from the brook, have I made a good dinner and supper”.

“Nasaump is the parched meal, boiled with water at their houses, which is the wholesomest diet they have. From this, the English call their samp, which is Indian corn, beaten and boiled and eaten hot or cold with milk or butter, which are mercies beyond the natives plain water and which is a dish exceeding wholesome for the English bodies”.

In his essay for the Royal Society, John Winthrop said in 1662 that Indian corn was of a “great variety of colors, the white and yellow being most common. There are many other colors, as red, blue, olive and greenish and some very black. The natives thresh it out as they gather it and dry it well upon mats in the sun and then bestow it in holes in the ground, which are their barns, and so it keeps very well till they use it. For their food, sometimes they boil it whole, and then eat it with fish or venison instead of bread, or only that without other food. Sometimes they bruise it in a mortar and then boil it. A very common way is by parching it among the ashes, by putting it amongst the hot embers. This they beat in their wooden mortars with a long stone for a pestle into a fine meal, which is a constant food amongst them. Being put into a bag for their

journey, it is at all times ready and may be eaten dry or mixed with water. The best food which the English make of corn is that they call samp. They first water the corn, then they beat it with a mortar to about the bigness of rice. This is boiled or stewed, into which, if milk or butter be put, either with sugar or without it, it is a food very pleasant and wholesome, being easy of digestion, and hath no



Cup of Indian Pottery

Found in Indian Grave on Long Hill by Harry Andrew Wright, 1896.

quality of binding the body. This was the most common diet of the planters, at the first beginning in these parts and is still in use. At the beginnings of these plantations, where this food was most in use, it was very rare that any were troubled with the stone, and amongst the Indians that eat no other sort of corn but that, the English have been informed by them, that the disease of the stone is very seldom known amongst them”.

Winthrop added that “the Indians have another sort of this corn which they call pondomenast. The English call it sweet corn. These ears, while they are green and sweet, they roast before the

fire, or covered with embers, and so eat the corn, picking it off the roasted ears as they eat it".

One has but to scan the pages of Evelyn's or Pepys' dairies to realize the dread of gall-stones of the Englishman of that age. Evelyn said that in Paris, on May 3, 1650, "At the hospital of La Charitie I saw the operation of cutting for the stone. A child of eight or nine years underwent the operation with most extraordinary patience, expressing great joy when he saw the stone was drawn. I gave Almighty God hearty thanks that I had not been subject to this deplorable infirmity." On June 10, 1669, Pepys showed to Richard Evelyn "a stone as big as a tennis ball" which had been removed from his own body. It would seem that tennis balls must have been smaller in those days, or else the journalist exaggerated quite a bit. All that, it must be recalled, was two centuries before ether was used in surgery. The usually accurate and observing Pepys recorded on March 27, 1668 that he had seen "the stone cut lately out of Sir Thomas Adams's body, very large indeed, bigger than a fist, and weighing over twenty five ounces". This was removed during a post-mortem examination, but it was reported that death was from another cause and that the deceased had no suspicion that he harbored a gall-stone.

Roger Williams concluded his observations on corn by saying that "of blackbirds there be millions, which are great devourers of the Indian corn as soon as it appears out of the ground. Against the birds, the Indians set their corn deep enough so that it may have a strong root, not so apt to be plucked up, yet not too deep, lest they bury it and it never come up. Also they put up little watch houses in the middle of their fields, in which they or the biggest of their children lodge and early in the morning, prevent the birds. To keep the little birds away from their corn, the Indians keep tame hawks about their houses".

"Although the crows do the corn some hurt, yet scarce one native amongst an hundred will kill them because they have a tradition that the crow brought them at first a grain of Indian corn in one ear and an Indian or French bean in the other, from the great God's field in the southwest, from whence they hold came all their corn and beans".

"They generally all take tobacco and it is commonly the only plant which the men labor in, the women managing all the rest. They say they take tobacco for two causes; first against the toothache, which they are impatient of. Secondly to revive and refresh them, they drinking nothing but water. The toothache is the only pain that will force their hearts to cry. In this pain they use a certain dried root, not unlike ginger".

"Some do not take tobacco, but they are rare birds, for generally all the men throughout the country have a tobacco bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back. Sometimes they make great pipes, both of wood and stone, that are two feet long, with men or beasts carved, so big and massive that a man can be mortally hurt by one of them,

but these commonly come from the Mauquauwogs, three or four hundred miles from us. They are joyful in meeting others in travel and will strike fire with stones or sticks, to take tobacco and discourse a little together”.

“The strawberry is the wonder of all the fruits growing naturally in these parts. It is of itself so excellent that one of the chiefest doctors of England (William Butler) was wont to say that God could have made, but God never did make a better berry. In some parts, where the natives have planted, I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship, within a few miles compass. The Indians bruise them in a mortar and mix them with meal and make strawberry bread”.

It should not be inferred from this that the Indians cultivated fields of strawberries. “Where the natives have planted”; that is, where they settled, conditions about their fallow fields became ideal for the natural spread of the wild strawberry. On the day of the first arrival of the Winthrop fleet at Salem in 1630, “most of the people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near, and gathered store of fine strawberries”.

“Attitaash are hurtleberries (huckleberries) of divers sorts, sweet like currants, some opening and some of a binding nature. Sautash are these currants dried by the natives and so preserved all the year, which they beat to powder and mingle with their parched meal and make a delicate dish which is as sweet to them as plum or spice cake is to the English”.

“The Indians, having abundance of geese, swans, brants and ducks upon their waters, kill them with their bows and arrows, being hardened to endure the weather and wading, lying and creeping on the ground. Cormorants they take in the night time where they are asleep on the rocks, off at sea, and bring in great store of them at break of day”.

In the fall of 1621, Bradford said,—“Now began to come in store of fowl, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when we first came, but afterwards decreased by degrees”.

“The Indians lay nets on the shore and catch many fowl upon the plains, feeding under oaks, upon acorns, as geese, cranes, turkeys and others. Pigeons breed abundantly and by reason of their delicate food, especially in strawberry time, they are a delicate fowl and because of their abundance and the facility of killing them, they are and may be plentifully fed on”.

Bradford added that “besides water fowl, there was great store of wild turkeys, of which we took many”.

“The natives take great pains in their fishing, especially in watching by night. They lay their naked bodies many a cold night on the cold shore about a fire of two or three sticks, and oft in the night, search their nets and sometimes stay long in frozen water. They will set their nets thwart some little river or cove wherein they kill bass at the fall of the water, with their arrows or sharp sticks, especially if headed with iron gotten from the English. The

Indians and English too, make a dainty dish of the head of the bass, the brains of it being sweet as marrow”.

“Of bream there is abundance, which the natives dry in the sun and smoke and some English salt it. Either way, they keep all the year”.

“Clams are a sweet kind of shellfish which the Indians delight in, both summer and winter and at low water the women dig for them. This fish and the natural liquor of it, they boil and it makes their broth and their nasaump, which is a kind of thickened broth, and their bread seasonable and savory, instead of salt”.

“Divers parts of this country abound with sturgeon, yet the natives, because of the goodness and greatness of it, will neither furnish the English with so many nor so cheap that any great trade is likely to be made of it. The natives venture, one or two in a canoe with an harping iron, or such like instrument and stick this fish and so haul it into their canoe. Sometimes they take them by their nets which they make of strong hemp”.

“Paponauksuog is a winter fish which comes up in the brooks and rivulets. Some call them frost fish from their coming up from the sea into fresh brooks in times of frost and snow”. This was the fish now known as the tomcod.

“Qunosuog is a fresh water fish for which the Indians break the ice in fresh water ponds, when they also take many other sorts, for to my knowledge, the country yields many other sorts of fish which I mention not”. The name qunosuog is derived from qunosu,—“he is long”, and this fish was the pickerel.

“At the end of the year, they sometimes remove to a hunting house and forsake it not until snow lies thick and then, men, women and children will travel home, thirty, fifty or sixty miles through the snow, but their great remove is from their summer fields to warm and thick woody bottoms where they winter”.

“The natives hunt two ways. First, they pursue their game, especially deer (which is the general and wonderful plenteous hunting) in twenty, forty, fifty, yea, two hundred or three hundred in a company, as I have seen when they drive the woods before them”.

“Secondly, they hunt by traps of several sorts, to which purpose, after observing in springtime and summer, the haunt of the deer, then about harvest they go, ten or twenty together and sometimes more, and women and children also, if it be not too far. There they build little hunting houses of bark and rushes (not comparable to their dwelling houses) and so each man takes his bounds of two, three or four miles, where he sets thirty, forty or fifty traps and baits them with that food the deer loves, and once in two days he walks his round to view his traps. They are very tender where their traps lie and what comes at them for they say the deer (whom they conceive have a divine power) will soon smell and be gone. When a deer is caught by the leg in a trap, sometimes there it lies a day before the Indian comes and so lies a prey to the ranging wolf and other wild beasts who seize up the deer and rob the Indian. Upon this, the

Indian makes a falling trap with a great weight of stones and so sometimes knocks the wolf on the head, with a gainful revenge, especially if it be a black wolf, whose skins they greatly prize”.

Williams certainly contradicted himself as to the number of deer to be had. They could hardly have been “wonderful plenteous”, if it was necessary to organize a band of three hundred to travel sixty miles to secure them. It might be argued that, as the Narragansetts lived by the sea, it was necessary to journey up into the hills to find their haunts, but this is hardly tenable, for even today there is on Cape Cod, slightly better deer hunting than there is in the Berkshire Hills.

Barnstable County, in Massachusetts (Cape Cod), and Rhode Island are physically quite similar, both being flat, open country, with sparse forest and in the seventeenth century they were probably much the same as today. Berkshire County, in Massachusetts, however, was and is almost wholly made up of heavily wooded mountains, not unlike the traditional haunt of the Scottish deer, yet today, each county apparently offers an equal lure and home to the wild deer.

Massachusetts has an annual open season of one week for deer hunting, all kills being registered and the number of deer taken in each county must in theory indicate the comparative number existing in each county. In the three years, 1936, 1937 and 1938, the average annual kills in Berkshire County were seven hundred thirty and in Barnstable County, two hundred twenty. Based on the area in each county, that would equal almost exactly three-quarters of one deer per square mile in each county, the odds slightly favoring Barnstable County, the exact figures being for Berkshire .730 and for Barnstable .757 for each square mile.

Hunting not being permitted in Rhode Island there are no statistics for comparison with conditions in Massachusetts. Even were such to be had, they would be of little value, as in the opinion of competent observers, the deer population in Rhode Island has undergone much change in the past fifteen years.

One familiar with the habits of wild deer would feel confident that in the seventeenth century, the number of deer in the open coastal regions of New England must have greatly exceeded that of the hill country. It would appear that Williams was misled by tales of things “wonderful plenteous” in some mythical, far away region, the truth of which he had no opportunity to check. It can, at least, be confidently asserted that documentary evidence indicates that in Colonial days, wild deer were far less plentiful than is commonly supposed.

Deer were so scarce that the Indians bitterly resented the killing of them by the settlers, which was, at the most, merely a provision for household needs. Such a situation could not have been occasioned by the operations of professional hunters as such activities were frowned on by the authorities, the settlers being expected to occupy their time in producing something for the

common good, rather than in merely providing for their own subsistence. As early as 1633, the Massachusetts General Court provided that "no person shall spend his time idly or unprofitably and for this end, the constable shall take knowledge of offenders, especially of common coasters, unprofitable fowlers and tobacco takers".

Lionel Gardiner told of a conference among the Indians at which they said,—“Our fathers had plenty of deer, our woods were full of turkeys, our coves with fish and fowl. We are resolved to fall upon the English at one appointed day and kill men, women and children, but no cows, for they will serve to eat until our deer be increased again”.

Conservationists contend that there are today more wild deer in the Eastern states than there were in Colonial times, but such a definite statement is wholly unjustified, there being no true basis for comparison, as no wild-life census was ever taken in that early period. In prehistoric days the Indians annually burned over the land to keep it open, which brought in the young plant shoots the deer loved. For similar reasons, the deer followed the axe and the plow of the pioneers and with the opening up of the country, under protective game laws, they undoubtedly have increased in recent years. It is probably true that in the Eastern states they are today more plentiful than they were a hundred years ago.

The Pynchon deed suggests that the Indians had available, fifteen nourishing items, as follows,—

Tobacco	Cranberries	Salmon
Corn	Ground nuts	Shad
Beans	Acorns	Trout
Squashes	Walnuts	Fresh water bass
Pumpkins	Venison	Pickerel

To these should be added the twenty-one items from the foregoing contemporary sources,—

Sweet corn	Chestnuts	Turkeys
Parched meal	Geese	Sea Bass
Samp	Cormorants	Bream
Strawberries	Swans	Clams
Huckleberries	Brants	Sturgeon
Currants	Ducks	Tomcod
Dried berries	Pigeons	Maple sugar

Here was certainly a balanced ration; brawn and muscle building. Fish, flesh, fowl, vegetables, fruits, berries and nuts. Sugar, starch, proteins, vitamins. A wealth of food for immediate consumption and ample supplies for drying, smoking and preserving for future use. Many a pioneer in America has perished of starvation in a land of plenty for lack of the knowledge necessary to take advantage of the bounteous offerings of nature. There is not a piece of woodland or an abandoned field that does not at some season

produce some species of wild fruits or roots that are edible raw, or that may be prepared readily for sustenance. Some of our finest horticultural varieties have been developed from the native wild species, just as, through the ages, corn was developed by the American natives from the tiny teosinte grass. Though it might be a problem for the novice to secure subsistence in the northern regions during the winter months, yet even then the experienced woodsman would find it reasonably easy to at least sustain life.

The thirty-six items mentioned by no means include all that were to be had by the Indians. O. P. Medsger, in *Edible Wild Plants* lists two hundred thirty-two to be found in northeastern America.

82 edible plants	36 roots and tubers
18 edible nuts	75 pot herbs
12 edible seed pods	9 sugars and gums

Among the better known are—

Wild plum	Checkerberry	Wild onion
Beach plum	Wintergreen berry	Hog peanut
Cherry	Grapes	Jerusalem artichoke
Gooseberry	Hazle nuts	Indian cucumber
Black currant	Beech nuts	Arum
Elderberry	Lupine pods	Salsify
Raspberry	Wild beans	Milkweed

Many are familiar with the delicious flavor of milkweed. When the shoots are young and tender and but a few inches high, they are boiled, changing the water once or twice to remove the milky juice. Served on toast, only the initiated would realize that they were not eating the finest asparagus. A good brown sugar can be made from the milkweed blossoms and the tuberous roots were cooked and eaten by the Indians.

The common vetch and other members of the pea family also were used for nourishment by the Indians. Besides starch, they contain much protein, so necessary for growth and repair of the body.

“Whoever cometh in when they are eating, they offer them to eat of that which they have, though but little enough prepared for themselves. If any provision of fish or flesh comes in, they make their neighbors partakers with them. If any stranger comes in they give him to eat of what they have. Many a time, and at all times of the night (as in travel I have happened upon their houses) when nothing hath been ready, they and their wives have risen to prepare me some refreshing. It is a strange truth, that a man shall generally find more free entertainment and refreshing amongst these barbarians than amongst thousands that call themselves christians”.

Why Williams made no mention of beaver flesh as a food used by the Indians is an enigma for it was of much importance to them. The meat was excellent and the tail considered a delicacy. Josselyn,

in 1672, said that "the tails are flat and covered with scales, which being flayed off and the tail boiled, proves exceeding good meat, being all fat and sweet as marrow".

It was certainly not an oversight on Williams' part for he spoke of that "beast of wonder" but made no reference to it as food. Quite possibly that was simply because the beaver was primarily



Heads Built up of Plaster on Connecticut Valley Indian Skulls

By Dr. Harris Hawthorne Wilder, Smith College.

trapped for its fur, and the flesh being merely a by-product, it was accepted as a matter of course.

The fact remains that in all his observations, Williams mentioned but one meat—venison. The Indians appear to have been pretty much vegetarians, so unused to fish or flesh that when such a rare gift of the Gods came their way, it was made the occasion for a community feast. "If any provision of fish or flesh comes in", said Williams, "they make their neighbors partakers with them".

Williams' comments indicate that the "natives hunt two ways" only for the deer. One was by trapping and the other by "driving". The latter method was the equivalent of a modern "deer drive", the last resort of disappointed nimrods, nearing the end of a limited vacation in the woods. Longing for a taste of venison, they organize a "drive" that gives the deer little chance for life;

a method so unsportsmanlike as to be undertaken only by the most luckless of hunters.

This brings out the point that the Indians did not rely on bow and arrow for securing deer. In fact in his whole 32 chapters of 224 pages, including the chapter on hunting, Williams speaks of arrows in securing game only in connection with the killing of water fowl and sea bass, which could have been entirely from cover, at close range. He mentions arrows but seven times, and it is well to note just what he did say on a subject which moderns consider such an important factor in native life.

The native word for arrow is given as "cauquat".

"Some make only bows, some arrows, some dishes".

"With their bows and arrows they are ready for war".

"Seldom an arrow hits".

"Whenever their arrow sticks in an enemy, they follow it".

"The Indians kill water fowl with arrows".

"They kill bass with arrows or sharp sticks".

Actually, the bow and arrow was a rather futile weapon. Were it not for the Indian's extraordinary powers of still-hunting, so that he could generally approach very near his game, his success would have been small indeed. Due in part to its heavy stone head, the range of the arrow was most limited. Only by shooting "compass-wise" could any appreciable distance be achieved. Shooting high in the air, the path of the arrow described a long arc toward its goal, but only by the grace of God did it reach the desired mark. Very early the colonists learned to "dodge" such missiles and not until the Indians were supplied with guns were they a great menace. One has but to recall the short time required to wipe out the entire Pequot nation, when they had only their native weapons.

On Cape Cod, at a point that Governor Bradford named "the place of the first encounter, a lusty man stood behind a tree within half a musket shot and let his arrows fly at them. He was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided". That being before the Pilgrims had had any experience in native ways it suggests what slight effort was required to make a joke of such warfare.

Williams said that "their wars are far less bloody and devouring than the cruel wars of Europe, and seldom twenty slain in a pitched field, partly because when they fight in a wood, every tree is a buckler. When they fight in a plain, they fight with such leaping and dancing that seldom an arrow hits".

While the thick hide of an animal such as a deer was ordinarily a foil to the crude stone arrow head, when the natives obtained metal from the English, their arrows became far more effective and dangerous. Lionel Gardiner cautioned against supplying the Indians with copper kettles which they cut up into arrow points. Because a copper arrow point is today found on a plowed field, it is not safe to assume that it was "obtained in trade from Indians about Lake Superior, where native copper was available", as is often asserted.

In any event, it was one thing to shoot an arrow through human skin and an entirely different proposition to attempt to penetrate the tough hide of a wild beast. That is why the colonists adopted the "buff coat" for Indian warfare.

At the fight at Mystic Fort in 1737, Capt. John Underhill "received a shot in the left hip, through a sufficient buff coat. Had I not been supplied with such a garment, the arrow would have pierced through me". Lionel Gardiner said that at Saybrook, in the Pequot War, he "was shot with many arrows, but my buff coat preserved me. Only one hurt me". By the time of King Philip's War, however, when the Indians had guns, they "shot three bullets through Capt. Nathaniel Davenport, though he had on a very good buff suit at the time".

That under certain conditions, human beings could be and were killed by Indian arrows is undeniable, the evidence supplied by *Gardiner's Relations* being alone sufficiently convincing, but all of Gardiner's accounts refer to hand-to-hand skirmishes from close cover, as follows:

"Three men went fowling, a mile from the house and having loaded themselves with fowl, they returned. The Pequots let them pass at first, but at their return they rose out of their ambush and shot all three".

"They went ashore and fell to carrying off the hay and presently the Indians rose out of the grass and killed three".

"Another came down drowned to us ashore at our doors with an arrow shot into his eye, through his head".

"I found the body of one man shot through, the arrow going in at the right side, the head sticking fast, half through a rib on the left side, which I took out and cleansed, to send to the Bay, because they said that the arrows of the Indians were of no force".

The latter comment illustrates the general contempt of the English for Indian arrows.

Such were the ways and means and the foods of the Indians when the sun smiled and the winds were tempered to their needs. In times of stress, of drought and flood, of rain and snow and storms or devastation by wars, they faced conditions when even the most provident suffered. A picture of life under those changed conditions is shown in the accounts of settlers taken captive in the Indian Wars.

The struggle for food was a large factor leading to the defeat of the Indians in King Philip's War. At Seekonk the natives had a secret store of corn in underground barns, which was visited in the spring of 1676 by Canonchet with a party of seventy-five, including thirty warriors. They secured the corn, but Canonchet and his escort were surprised and captured by a scouting party under Capt. George Denison. From that time the fortunes of the hostile tribes began to fade.

Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, wife of the minister at Lancaster, Massachusetts, was taken by the Indians on February 10, 1675-76 and in the *Narrative of Her Captivity*, she said:

“It had been thought that if the corn was cut down, they would starve and die with hunger, so all their corn that could be found was destroyed and they were driven from the little store they had into the woods in the midst of winter, yet the Lord did preserve them for his ends and the destruction of many English. The Lord did so provide for them that in all the time I was among them I did not see one man, woman or child die of hunger”.

“I was with the enemy eleven weeks and five days. Though many times they would eat things that a hog or dog would hardly touch, yet by that God strengthened them to be a scourge to his people. The first week of my being among them I hardly ate anything. The second week I found my stomach grow very faint for want of something yet it was very hard to get down their filthy trash. The third week, though I would think how formerly my stomach would turn against this or that and I could starve and die before I could eat such things, yet they were now very sweet and savory to my taste”.

“When the Indians gathered their forces to go against Northampton, one went about yelling and hooting to give notice of the design, whereupon they fell to boiling ground nuts and parching corn (as many as had it) for their provision”.

“There sat an Indian boiling horses feet, they being wont to eat the flesh first and when the feet were old and dried and they had nothing else, they would cut off the feet and use them. I asked him to give me a little of his broth or water they were boiling in. He gave me a spoonful of samp and bid me take as much broth as I would. He gave me also a piece of the ruff, or ridding of the small guts and I broiled it in the coals”.

“After the Fort Fight, when our army was in pursuit, the enemy was in such distress for food that our men could track them by their rooting in the earth for ground nuts, whilst they were flying for their lives. Their chief and commonest food was ground-nuts. They also ate nuts, acorns, artichokes, lily roots, ground beans and several other weeds and roots that I know not. Many of the Indians, for want of tobacco, smoked hemlock and ground ivy”.

“They would pick up old bones and cut them to pieces at the joints and if they were full of worms and maggots they would scald them over the fire to make the vermin come out and then boil them and drink the liquor and then beat the great ends of them in a mortor and so eat them. They would eat horses guts and ears and all sorts of wild birds which they would catch; also bear, venison, beaver, tortise, squirrels, frogs, dogs, skunks, rattlesnakes; yea the very bark of trees, besides all sorts of creatures and provisions which they plundered from the English. I can but stand in admiration to see the power of God in providing for such a vast number of enemies in the wilderness, where there was nothing to be seen but from hand to mouth. Many times in the morning the generality of them would eat all up that they had and yet have some farther supply against they wanted”.

It might be thought that the difficulties of Mrs. Rowlandson's captors in procuring food were due entirely to the season of the year, but captives taken during the summer months relate experiences similar to hers. Mrs. Elizabeth Hanson, who was taken at Dover, New Hampshire, on June 27, 1724, and lived with the Indians for over a year, said:

"The greatest difficulty was want of food, having at times nothing to eat but pieces of old beaver skin match-coats, which the Indians having hid (for they came naked) which in their going back they took with them, and they were used more for food than raiment. Being cut into long narrow straps, they gave us little pieces, which by the Indians' example we laid on the fire until the hair was singed away and then we ate them as a sweet morsel. Of this poor diet we had but scanty allowance".

A match-coat was a large loose coat of skins, worn by the Indians. The native name, *matshigode* became *machicote* to the French and so, match-coat. John Smith said that *matchcotes* meant "skins or garments".

Mrs. Hanson continued:

"Sometimes the Indians would catch a squirrel or beaver and at other times we met with nuts, berries and roots which they dugged out of the ground or the bark of some trees. We had no corn for a great while together, though some of the younger Indians went back and brought some corn from the English inhabitants (the harvest not being gathered) of which we had a little allowed us. When they caught a beaver we lived high while it lasted".

"When flesh was scarce we had only the guts and garbage, not being permitted to cleanse the guts other than by emptying the dung out. In that filthy pickle we must boil and eat them, which was very unpleasant, but hunger made this food pretty bearable to a sharp appetite, which otherwise could not have dispensed with it. What I had thought in my own family not fit for food, would here have been a dainty dish".

It is conclusive, that in spite of the traditional ability of the Indians to live off the land, that lacking the corn that had been their dependence for untold generations, their lives were but a sorry lot. Though by constant effort they could exist, that effort provided existence only.

CHAPTER VII

Indian Houses

THE house of the Indians of the Western plains was the tepee. This word, which also appears as teepee and tipi, is from a Dakota word, the meaning of which is almost synonymous with "house". It was made by placing a number of poles about a circular area and bringing them together at the top, thus forming a conical framework coming to an acute apex. This frame was covered principally with buffalo skins.

When a camp was broken up, the tepee poles were fastened to the sides of the collar or saddle of a draft animal, one end trailing behind on the ground and on these poles were piled the skin coverings and the household gear. Such drags were known by the French-Canadian term "travois".

Before the coming of Europeans, only dogs were used as beasts of burden, as horses were unknown in America until they were brought here by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

In 1539, Hernando de Soto, with several hundred men, landed at Tampa Bay and explored the present states of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas, Tennessee and Mississippi. At the junction of the Red and Mississippi Rivers, De Soto died of a malarial fever, after many of his men had perished. From Mexico, many expeditions northward were made with similar results.

In accordance with the custom of the times, the men of these expeditions rode stallions while the animals of the baggage trains were mares. Many of these animals strayed away and became lost. Others were abandoned in times of stress. Colts were foaled and left by the way, to survive or die. The country was well adapted to their existence and the progeny of these Spanish horses became the wild horses of our Western plains.

The very word *mustang* is of Spanish origin, meaning a "stray animal". *Bronco* is also from the Spanish, denoting something "rude",—that is, unbroken. The word *cayuse*, more or less a term of contempt, is, however, from the native Indian, being a small horse which came to be used by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon and Washington,—a district too northerly to produce the best examples.

The imitative native, having by observation, a first-hand knowledge of the uses to which the Europeans put horses, readily adopted these wild animals. With but a twisted cord for a bridle, and with no saddle whatever, they became such adept riders that horse and rider seemed but a single unit.

The tepee was a picturesque type of structure, its appearance lending itself most happily to the uses of the painter and the pageant master, so that it has survived as symbolic of the house of all American Indians.

The houses of the Indians of the Atlantic seaboard, however, were quite different from those of the plains. No skins were there available comparable in size to those of the buffalo, and it was far easier to secure new poles, as needed, than to transport old ones.

Contemporary observers have described the Eastern houses in such detail that there is no question as to their appearance. By the English they were called "wigwams", from an Algonkian term meaning "house" (Abnaki, wigwom; Micmac, wigwom; Lenape, wikwam; Massachusetts, wekuam).

Verrazzano came to anchor in Newport Harbor, April 21, 1524. There he "saw their houses made in circular or round form, ten or twelve feet in compass, covered with mats of straw, wrought cunningly together, which save them from wind and rain".

At Tadoussac, on the St. Lawrence, in May, 1603, Champlain said that "their cabins are low and made like tents, being covered with the bark of the birch tree. The whole top for a space of about a foot, they leave uncovered, whence the light enters, and they make a number of fires directly in the middle of the cabin, in which there are sometimes ten families at once". Again, he says,—“they are large, of a circular shape and covered with thatch made of grass or the husks of Indian corn”.

In July, 1605, Champlain was at Cape Cod. Of the Indians at Nauset Harbor, he said,—“their wigwams are round and covered with heavy thatch made of reeds. In the middle of the roof there is an opening about a foot and a half wide, where the smoke passes out”.

Lescarbot, searching along the coast, in 1606, for the city of Norumbega, complained that there were "only a few scattered wigwams made of poles covered with the bark of trees and the skins of wild beasts".

Hudson came into New York Harbor in 1609. He "saw there a house, well constructed of oak bark and circular in shape, with an arched roof".

At Salem, in 1629, Francis Higginson said, "Their houses are very little and homely being made with small poles pricked into the ground and so bended and fastened at the tops. On the sides they are matted with boughs and covered on the roof with sedge and old mats".

Father Le Jeune first arrived at Tadoussac on June 18, 1632, and "saw savages for the first time. Their cabins are made of poles, clumsily covered with bark, the top left uncovered for the purpose of letting in light and of leaving an opening for the smoke to go out".

In 1637, Thomas Morton said that "They gather poles in the woods and put the great end in the ground placing them in the form of a circle, bending the tops of them in form of an arch. They bind



Wigwam of Connecticut Valley Indians

them together with the bark of walnut trees so that they make the same round on the top for the smoke of their fire to pass through. These they cover with mats, some made of reeds and some of long flags or sedge, finely sewed together with needles made of the splinter bones of a crane's leg, with threads made of their Indian hemp. The fire is always made in the middle of the house. When they are minded to remove, they carry away the mats with them; other materials the place adjoining will yield. They use not to winter and summer in one place, for that would be a reason to make fuel scarce but remove sometimes to their hunting places, where they remain for that season, and sometimes to their fishing places, where they abide for that season, and at the spring, when fish comes in plentifully, they have meetings from several places."

Philip Vincent described the native wigwams in 1637, saying that "these huts or little houses are framed like our garden arbors, something more round, very strong and handsome, covered with close-wrought mats, made by their women, of flags, rushes and hempen threads, so defensive that neither rain, though never so bad and long, nor yet the wind, though never so strong, can enter. The top, through a square hole, giveth passage to the smoke, which in rainy weather, is covered with a pliver".

Lechford, in 1642, said that "they live in wigwams or houses made of mats, like little huts, the fire in the midst".

In his *Key Into the Language* (1643) Roger Williams speaks of "the long poles, which men commonly get and fix and then the women cover the house with mats and line them with embroidered mats. The men make the poles and stakes, but the women make and set up, take down, order and carry the mats and household stuff." Williams also mentions birch bark and chestnut bark "which they dress finely and make a summer covering for their houses".

These were a nomadic people, living by their corn fields or fishing camps in the summer, retiring to the deep swamps during the winter. As Williams tells it: "From thick, warm valleys where they winter, they remove a little nearer to their summer fields when it is warm spring, then they remove to their fields where they plant corn. Sometimes, having fields a mile or two, or many miles asunder, when the work of one field is over, they remove the house to the other. Sometimes they remove to a hunting house in the end of the year, and forsake it not until snow lie thick and then will travel home, men, women and children, through the snow, thirty, yea, fifty or sixty miles, but their great remove is from their summer fields to warm and thick wood bottoms where they winter. They are quick; in half a day; yea, sometimes at few hours warning to be gone and the house up elsewhere, especially if they have stakes ready pitched for their mats. I once, in travel, lodged at a house, at which in my return I had hoped to have lodged again there the next night, but the house was gone in the interim and I was glad to lodge under a tree".

In other words, it is evident that when the Indians abandoned a wigwam, they took away merely the covering, leaving the frame for possible future use, as the dismantled poles were of no value to them. Such custom survived and is common even today among primitive people. The ill-fated Hubbard-Wallace expedition across Labrador in 1903, when hoping against hope of finding the Nascaupsee Indians, were frequently cheered by finding "a great many wigwam poles".

Gookin, in 1674, said that "their houses, or wigwams are built with small poles fixed in the ground, bent, and fastened together with barks of trees, oval or arborwise on the top. The best sort are covered very neatly, tight and warm, with the bark of trees, stripped when the sap is up. The meaner sort of wigwams are covered with mats they make of a kind of bullrush, which are tight and warm, but not so good as the former".

William Byrd described the houses which he saw in Virginia, in 1728, as "close arbors made of saplings, arched at the top and covered so well with bark as to be proof against all weather. The fire is made in the middle".

A recapitulation of the many descriptions of the Algonkian wigwams shows them to have been made of a framework of saplings more or less permanently set into the ground, such frame being covered with bark and removable mats or skins. They varied in size according to the needs of the family. Some were rectangular with arched roof, while others were circular, with domed roof. The fire was always in the center of the floor, the smoke usually passing out through a hole in the roof.

CHAPTER VIII

Setting the Stage

"If we return not from our adventure, if the sea claims us, and upon his sandy floor, amid his Armida gardens, the silver-singing mermaiden marvel at that wreckage which was once a tall ship and at those bones which once were animate,—if strange islands know our resting place, sunk for evermore in huge, colored thorn-set and most unkindly forests,—if, being but pawns in a mighty game, we are lost or changed, happy, however, in that the white hand of our Queen hath touched us, giving thereby consecration to our else unworthiness,—if we find no gold, nor take one ship of Spain, nor any city treasure-stored,—if we suffer a myriad of sorrows and at the last we perish miserably,—I drink to those who follow after.—I drink to those who fail,—pebbles cast into water whose ring still wideth, reacheth God knows what unguessable shore where loss may yet be counted gain. I drink to Fortune her minions, to Francis Drake and John Hawkins and Martin Frobisher; to all adventurers and their deeds in far-off seas. I drink to merry England and to the day when every sea shall bring her tribute.—to England, like Aphrodite, new risen from the main. Drink with me".

Sir Mortimer Ferne.

PRIOR to the discovery of America, the hardy mariners of England had driven their tiny ships to the commercial ports of the known world. From Africa they gathered gold and ivory. Furs, lumber, mercury, and such came from Russia and adjacent lands. Spices, perfumes, cloth-of-gold, carpets and other oriental fabrics were provided by the Levant. For these were exchanged woven cloth, blankets, hats, shoes, stockings, copper kettles, needles, scissors, mirrors and other wares of British manufacture. Operations were financed by groups of private bankers who were known as adventurers because they "ventured" their capital, or by wealthy individuals. It was a profitable business for all concerned, and from long experience the risks and perils of such expeditions and the average profit or loss to be expected could be readily estimated. As detailed reports came of the naked savages of the new lands in the West, a ready market for wearing apparel amongst the natives was envisaged. Richard

Hakluyt, acting as a one-man chamber of commerce, published countless first-hand reports of the experiences of ship captains who had ventured to the New World. Then as now, England's prosperity depended on the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured goods.

By the late sixteenth century, England had fallen on evil days. For generations she had led the world in the manufacture of stuffs woven from the wool grown by British farmers, but the spinners and weavers of the Low Countries across the North Sea had become so adept as to outstrip those of England and the British growers found it more profitable to have their fleeces processed by foreign hands than by their own home people. Many were thus thrown out of work which led to a general business depression that gradually spread throughout the British Isles.

As opportunities in America became apparent, influential people recommended for relief of the economic pressure, that unemployed workers be deported. It was proposed to send here the inmates of the orphan asylums, professional beggars and petty offenders from the jails. Self-appointed propagandists published enticing books on the subject. In 1582 Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* came from the press, and his *Principal Navigations* in 1589. There was also his *Discourse on Western Planting*, colonizing being called "planting" in that era.

In his *Brief and True Relation*, John Brereton told the story of Gosnold's expedition to New England in 1602. In 1605 Champlain made the first accurate survey of the New England coast and provided a comprehensive map with charts of various harbors including that of the future Plymouth which he called Port St. Louis. In 1616 Captain John Smith's *Description of New England* first gave that name to the territory and with the volume was a map on which the name Plymouth was given to the site where four years later the Pilgrims gave that name to the town they founded. Winslow's *Journal* was published in 1622 and his *Good News from New England* in 1624, and that same year came Captain Smith's *General History*. John White's *Planter's Plea* was brought out in 1630; Wood's *New England's Prospect* in 1634; and Morton's *New English Canaan* in 1637.

The foregoing is by no means a complete catalog of the guide books available at that time, but collectively these give rather complete information for the prospective settler in New England. In them is data regarding the clothing, tools, utensils and furnishings that were requisite for the emigrant's necessities and comfort. Vocabularies of Indian words were included. Descriptions were given of the country, its climate and natural products. Every question seems to have been anticipated.

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Europe suffered from an epidemic of a disease then known as French pox, but which today is called syphilis. It was thought to have had its origin in America and as the natives there seemed not to suffer from it, it was contended that they must possess a deterrent or cure, which on the authority

of a Spanish doctor, Monades, was determined to be the root of the sassafras tree. In consequence the root commanded a price sufficient to make two special voyages to New England a good commercial venture.



17th Century Shallop From Contemporary Drawing in Library of the University at Leyden, The Netherlands

The first was that of Barthomolew Gosnold who was financed by the Earl of Southampton, friend of Shakespeare. In 1602 he searched the Maine coast and after sailing past Cape Cod, settled down for the summer on Cuttyhunk Island. He took back to England so much sassafras as to break the market price, to the dismay of Sir Walter Raleigh, who held the patent for the territory. Raleigh sought compensation for consequent losses but Gosnold had sufficient influence, through Southampton, to iron out the trouble.

The following year a group of Bristol merchants, after obtaining Raleigh's permission, sent Martin Pring on a similar expedition. He too made his landfall in Maine, but on sailing south, he entered Cape Cod Bay, which Gosnold had overshot and settled down at what he named Whitsun, the site of the present Plymouth. By the end of July one ship was sent home laden with sassafras, and, early in August, Pring returned home with the other ship. Absence of further mention of sassafras in the books of the day, suggests that some comprehension of the slight value of the commodity had been realized.

One circumstance that very early focused attention on New England and which greatly influenced its exploration and settlement has been given scant attention by historians. Throughout the sixteenth century it was a magnet that attracted the interest of hard-headed industrialists of Europe who anticipated taking from that bleak land, wealth comparable to that which the Spaniards had found in South America.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century, many expeditions crossed the seas to search along the north Atlantic for the fabled city of Norumbega. Though this interest continued into the first two decades of the seventeenth century, it became secondary to the quest for a mythical Great Lake, knowledge of which was based on a rather casual statement made by Captain John Smith. Smith, best known for his association with the Indian maiden, Pocahontas, was a practical and experienced person who had a large part in the affairs of early Virginia. His *Description of New England*, published in 1616, embodied his observations on a voyage of 1614 which was financed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, John Mason and others. In his report to his sponsors he told of certain New England Indians who lived along "rivers that stretch themselves far up into the country, even to the borders of divers great lakes where they kill and take most of their beavers and otters".

For years, Gorges' interest in these Great Lakes continued, though they eventually came to be known as a single Great Lake, knowledge of which, being obtained from the natives by Europeans having but scant knowledge of the language, was most indefinite. It would seem to have combined some thought of Lake Winnepesaukee, Lake Champlain and the chain of lakes that in modern times are called the Great Lakes, into one composite Great Lake.

On the ship *Arbella*, off Plymouth, England, on April 10, 1630, while awaiting a fair wind that would serve for the voyage that was to result in the founding of Boston, Governor John Winthrop noted in his *Journal* "that the bark *Warwick* was taken by the Dunkirkers. She was a pretty ship, set out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason and others, for the discovery of the Great Lake in New England, so to have intercepted the trade of beaver".

Nothing contributed so much toward the lure for the exploration and settlement of America as the quest for the beaver. English merchants and individuals who financed various colonizing enterprises urged that emigrants devote their energies to commercial

activities rather than to agriculture. At times the shipments of beaver skins totaled as high as 200,000 a year, which, eliminating Sundays would average around 650 a day.

The question naturally arises,—what use was made of such a vast number of peltries? Were Europeans in need of that quantity of fur coats and robes? The answer is decidedly in the negative, for while a small proportion were so used, the majority of the skins became material for making hats. Hats were then of two sorts; the hat known as the beaver hat, otherwise called the tall hat or “stove-pipe”. The second type was the wide-brimmed soft felt hat, well illustrated in the contemporary portrait of King Charles I, by Van Dyke. In 1634 young Winthrop’s agent in London wrote him concerning the receipt of a shipment of skins, complaining that they were “light of leather, yet have little wool. The beaver hat maker calleth it faint stuff”. In 1635 Sir John Clotworthy wrote to Winthrop from Antrim, Ireland, asking that Winthrop arrange to have sent to him skins “for a beaver coat, very large, to the length of the calf of the leg”, and material “for a beaver hat of the best sort”.

Hats are a variety of the ancient cap and bonnet which were early made of velvet, silk and other rich materials. Formed of felt and assuming a certain firmness of fabric, hats began to be manufactured in England about 1510, and we hear of them superseding caps and softer head gear in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Sheep’s wool was the material first employed in forming felt hats, but wool was scarce and in great demand for the weaving of cloths.

St. Clement, the patron saint of the hatters, is credited with first producing felt. It is said, that when on a pilgrimage he put carded wool between his feet and the sole of his sandals, and found at his journey’s end that the wool was converted into cloth. Regardless of tradition, it is a fact that if carded wool is thus continually trodden and at the same time moistened, it will become felt, and all the manufacturer’s processes of felting are but modifications of such treatment. It is merely taking advantage of the natural tendency of hairs to interlace and cling together.

As trade with America developed, the fur of the beaver was adopted, being finer and softer than sheep wool and of lesser cost and the colonies appeared able to offer an inexhaustible supply of such raw material. Hence, the term beaver, as synonymous with hat, came into use. For more than two centuries, fine beaver hats formed the head covering of the upper classes of Great Britain.

After the hair had been stripped from the pelt, the hide remained for the numerous uses to which calf skin and sheep skin had previously been applied: book bindings, shoes and such.

As American colonies became established and, more and more, the need grew for protection to the merchant and banker financiers King Charles I, by royal proclamation in 1638 prohibited the making of hats from any material other than “beaver stuff and beaver wool”. Great impetus was thus given to the trade and so was created a monopoly that continued for more than two hundred years.

In a "Note on the Present State of the Fur Trade" in Silliman's *Journal*, January, 1834, it was stated that "the beaver, otter, lynx, fisher, hare and racoon are used principally for hats". Today, millions of rabbits are supplied annually by Australia and New Zealand for the same purpose.

Both the Pilgrims and the Puritans became obsessed with the idea that there existed a river, at the source of which was a great swamp area, where the Indians secured a great part of their furs. Men of means, such as William Pynchon, sent out paid scouts to search for it. Others sought it on their own account. In the minds of all, there was the thought that the control of such a river would mean control of the entire beaver trade of the whole northeast.

The Maine rivers were explored without success. Then, it was confidently expected that the Merrimac was the true river. Finally, it seemed evident that the Connecticut was the long-sought stream. On October 2, 1633, Winthrop said that "this river runs so far northward—so near the Great Lake. From this lake and the hideous swamps about it come most of the beaver which is traded between Virginia and Canada—which might easily be diverted", &c, &c. So positive were the Plymouth people that the Connecticut led to the source of endless riches that they endeavored to secure the co-operation of those of Boston in acquiring control of it, but they met with no success, as the Bay people were confident that the Merrimac, which they controlled must surely originate in the Great Lake. In consequence, in 1633, the Pilgrims alone established a post at Windsor, on the Connecticut, the site being chosen so as to be above the Dutch who had previously settled about Hartford. This merely intensified the scramble. Those of Massachusetts, jealous of the Plymouth enterprise, belatedly sought equal opportunities before it was too late. At Windsor, on July 6, 1635, Jonathan Brewster complained that "the Massachusett men are coming almost daily, some by water and some by land". Various individuals and associates at Massachusetts petitioned the General Court for permission to settle on the Connecticut, but their pleas were always evaded or denied. Finally, Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, went to England, seeking co-operation in an effort to oust the Dutch from the valley. Winslow, however, was in disfavor in England and advantage was taken of his presence there to curb his activities. He was accused of preaching in the church, though not a licensed minister and with performing the marriage service, and was held in prison for seventeen weeks.

Undeterred by Winslow's failure, in the autumn of 1634 John Winthrop, the younger, went over on a somewhat similar errand. Landing at Galway, on the west coast of Ireland, he went overland to Dublin, which was familiar ground to him, for it was at Trinity College that he had received his education. For some reason he seems to have borne a charmed life and journeyed at will when other Puritans were being harried from pillar to post. He went north to Antrim, where at the castle of Sir John Clotworthy, he was met by a group gathered to hear of his plans. Later, while in London, he

received from Clotworthy, various "casement" letters regarding details of his scheme. From Antrim, he crossed over to Ayrshire, in Scotland, and at Killing, on January 5, 1635, the Rev. John Livingston gave him letters to David Dickson in Irvin, John Stewart in Ayr, and James Murray in Edinburgh. All of his operations were



Section of John Smith's Map Illustrating His Voyage of 1614

conducted with the greatest secrecy, he being passed on from one to another, but only to "men religious and wise, whom you may be sure will communicate what you impart to them, only to such, and so much, as you shall think fitting".

Crossing the Tweed, at Berwick, Winthrop met with George Fenwick, and that well-connected and energetic person immediately took him to London for conference with Lord Saye and Sele and his associates. Winthrop revealed his plans to the Lords Proprietors and readily convinced them that in their grant under the Warwick

patent, they held the key to the situation, and by ownership of the land at the mouth of the Connecticut, they controlled the mythical fur source. They admitted that they, themselves, had been in conference with Oliver Cromwell and John Hampden regarding provision for asylum there, if events in England made such a course desirable. They were deterred, however, by the question of means for financing such an elaborate project, but were willing to pool their rights with others who would finance the affair.

In the meantime, on February 12, 1635, Winthrop had acquired a new wife, Elizabeth Reade, step-daughter of Hugh Peter, the Puritan divine, and through her he met the noted preacher. Peter referred him to The Hague, where about the court of the Winter Queen, Elizabeth, were quite a number of influential persons with Puritan leanings. Four miles north of The Hague was Leyden, home of the Pilgrim fathers prior to their emigration to New England. At Rotterdam thirteen miles south of The Hague, Hugh Peter, with his assistant, Dr. Davenport was in charge of the English church. Peter had been reported by the British ambassador as being a dangerous and objectionable person and steps had been taken for his apprehension.

Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, was the eldest child of James I and sister of Charles I. She married Frederick, the Elector Palatine in 1613, and became Queen of Bohemia and mother of Prince Rupert, first governor of the Hudson Bay Company, who was also the originator of Rupert's drops and of the mezzotint. After the death of Frederick in 1632, Queen Elizabeth gathered about her home at The Hague, a considerable group of Puritans. The reason for her Puritan sympathies is not fully apparent, but it was possibly due to the acquiescence of England in the rape of her husband's Bohemia. That there was considerable interest in all this, at Boston, is evidenced by guarded references in various entries in Winthrop's *Journal*.

At a much earlier period, there lived at Warminghurst, Sussex, England, Sir Edward Apsley. His home was a great brick mansion, taken over by Henry VIII at the suppression of the monasteries. It stands today, in outward appearance very much as it did in Sir Edward's day, except that the elaborate Horsham stone roof has been removed to provide material for a modern billiard hall at Arundel Castle. After the death of Sir Edward, Dame Apsley sold the home to William Penn, and in that house was planned the settlement of both Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

Sir Edward Apsley had three children, Elizabeth, Alice and Edward. Between the Apsleys and Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia, was a very close friendship, as is evidenced by their letters and exchange of gifts, including a portrait of the Queen.

The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, later the wife of Sir Albertus Morton, became maid-of-honor to the Queen, who was very fond of pets, and Elizabeth Apsley had special charge of them. One of her letters is humorously signed by "the fair hand of the right reverend

Mistress Elizabeth Apsley, chief governess to all the monkeys and the dogs”.

The younger Apsley sister, Alice, married John, son of Sir Oliver Butler, of Teston, Kent, of a strong royalist family. Though John Butler died before his father, his widow had the courtesy title of Lady Alice Butler. She inherited quite a bit of property from her husband, and jointly with him she had a protégé, a young clerk in Holy Orders, Philip Nye, later the famous Puritan preacher and associate of Thomas Goodwin. To Philip Nye, Butler left a substantial annuity.

Lady Alice Apsley Butler was often at The Hague as the guest of her sister and of the Queen, and there, in the spring of 1635, Fenwick and Winthrop found her, together with others having similar interests in the cause.

One result of that meeting was the marriage of Lady Alice with George Fenwick, whereby she became known as Lady Fenwick. She sold to her former mother-in-law, the property left to her by her first husband, which then became the property of her first husband's brother, William, who was later killed while with the royalist forces at Cropredy Bridge, near Saye and Sele's Broughton Castle. With the elder Lady Butler, Philip Nye then compounded his annuity and the combined cash proceeds were entrusted to Winthrop, to finance the proposed plantation on the Connecticut. Thus, George Fenwick became a partner with the Lords Proprietors, as well as resident manager for the group.

Returning to London, Winthrop was, on July 7, 1635, commissioned as Governor for the prospective colony and returned to Boston, where he arrived in October, with “£2,000 in money to begin a fortification at the mouth of the river” Connecticut.

At once the race was on, and within a few months, Saybrook, Wethersfield, Hartford, Windsor and Springfield were established, all on the west side of the Connecticut River.

Eventually, disillusioned, the Lords Proprietors lost interest in what became, at the best, a mere agricultural enterprise, but in New England the dream continued, and fond hopes existed in spite of all disappointments. Though for a number of years the records make little mention of the Great Lake, it is evident that during that period, the matter continued one of much moment.

In June, 1642, an Irishman named Darby Field went up to the Saco River and climbed the White Mountains. From there “he saw some great waters to the westward which he judged to be the Great Lake which the Canada river comes out of”. At once the Gorges interests were on tiptoe, and in October “two of the magistrates of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his province, went thither”. About the only accomplishment of that expedition was the identifying of the sources of the Saco, Androscoggin and Connecticut, with the certainty that none of them came from the Great Lake.

Still the search continued. In 1644 “divers merchants of Boston, being desirous to discover the Great Lake, supposing it to lie in the

northwest of our patent'', secured a license from the Dutch and Swedish governors and sent out a pinnace to explore the Delaware, but on arriving there, matters were made so uncomfortable for them that the project was abandoned.

Thus, after thirty years of seeking, the quest was given up. While the dream lasted it was very real, not only to the English but to the Dutch as well. There is reason for thinking that John Smith told Henry Hudson of the Lakes. Certainly the Dutch knew of them and sought them. It must be remembered that both the French and the Dutch settled high up on the Hudson, long before Manhattan was purchased from the Indians.

Without any question whatever, the belief in the Great Lake greatly influenced the occupation of New England.

The situation was further complicated by conflicting claims of the French and the Dutch. In 1524 Verrazzano, sponsored by Francis I, came into New York Harbor though he did not explore the Hudson to any considerable distance. However, in 1540, a French group established a fortified fur-trading post on a long, low island on the west side of the river near the present southern limits of Albany. This proved but a temporary affair for spring freshets partially destroyed the post and it was soon abandoned. It would appear certain that while it remained active it must have attracted the natives of Western Massachusetts, who would have thus become acquainted with European ways and wares for nearly a century before the coming of the English to the Connecticut Valley in 1635.

In 1609 Henry Hudson, on behalf of the Dutch East India Company explored the Hudson River and his report of the abundance of fur-bearing animals aroused the commercial zeal of the Dutch. The French stronghold, just below the present Albany, was rebuilt and named Fort Nassau. At Manhattan, in 1614, Adrian Block built a yacht christened the *Reckless*, in which he explored Long Island Sound, and rounding Cape Cod, continued on as far as the site of Salem in Massachusetts. On that occasion he explored the Connecticut River until deterred by the rapids at Windsor. A contemporary account of that expedition was as follows:

“On the south coast is a river named by our countrymen Fresh river, which is shallow at its mouth. At about fifteen leagues up the river there is not much more than five feet of water. There are few inhabitants near the mouth of the river, but at a distance of fifteen leagues above they become numerous. Their nation is called Sequins. From this place the river stretches ten leagues in a northerly direction but is very crooked. The natives there plant maize, and in the year 1614 they had a village resembling a fort for protection against attacks of their enemies. They are called Nawaas. This place is situated in latitude 41° 48'. The river is not navigable with yachts for more than two leagues farther, as it is very shallow with a rocky bottom. Within the land dwells another nation of savages, who are called Horikans. They descend the river in canoes made of bark”.

Block's map supplied the data for the making of an elaborate map known as the *Carte Figurative*, which was the basis of the Dutch map of 1656, known as the Van der Donck map, which shows the Connecticut Valley in considerable detail. That the map was from an early source, when knowledge of the interior was meager, is evidenced by the misplacement of Lake Champlain, here called by its French designation of the Sea of the Iroquois. The names of three Indian families, the Sequins, the Nawaas and the Horikans appear in identical form both in the text and on these maps, though they are not found in any other contemporaneous text. On the Van der Donck map, the names of the river towns are in a style of lettering very different from that of the other names, suggesting that they were a later addition to copper plate from which an earlier map was printed. This thought is strengthened by the fact that the name of Windsor (Voynser) is on the opposite side of the river from its correct location, evidently because a grove of trees took up the space on the map which the name would otherwise have occupied. For the same reason "Mr. Pinsers handel huys" (Mr. Pynchon's trading house) appears far to the northwest of its proper site by the Agawam at the junction with the Connecticut. The sum of the evidence seems to make it conclusive that the Jasper Danker map of 1650, which was the source of this Van der Donck map of 1656, was itself made from an earlier map, drawn at a period prior to the existence of the river towns, and that map could have been only the *Carte Figurative* of 1614. In any event, whatever the date, it is the earliest detailed map of the area about Springfield.

From the very beginning of the sixteenth century mariners from Portugal and the Basque provinces of Spain, and from Normandy and Brittany, flocked to the fishing grounds of the northeastern coast. From 1504 until the recent war periods, there has never been a year when the French flag has been absent from there. Crewmen were frequently on shore for long periods, building drying stages and curing fish for shipment home. The natives saw much of them and peltries were freely exchanged for European tools and utensils. Captain John Smith said that "while the sailors fished, with eight or nine others who might best be spared, ranging the coast in a small boat, we got for trifles near eleven-hundred beaver skins, one-hundred martins and near as many otters".

Natives were kidnapped and carried to Europe, some of whom eventually returned. By the time the English had permanently settled at Plymouth and at Boston, the Indian population must have had an acute awareness of Europeans and they had certainly acquired a generous admixture of European blood. At Plymouth, the settlers were surprised when a native greeted them with the words, "Welcome, Englishmen". It is more surprising that they did not encounter scores, having at least a rudimentary knowledge of some European tongue.

In one short century the natives of America had passed from the stone age to the iron age; a step that in the Old World had

required thousands upon thousands of years. Brass and copper kettles replaced stone and pottery cooking pots. Arrows were tipped with sheet metal instead of clumsy stone points, thus greatly increasing distance and accuracy. Woolen blankets were adopted for clothing in place of skins. Stone axes and knives were discarded in favor of those of steel. Clam shells fastened to wooden handles were no longer used for hoes.

In the same period the entire coast had been viewed by competent and experienced explorers. Considerable penetration into the interior had been effected. Informative maps were at hand for all who wished.

The stage was set for the opening scene of the next act.

CHAPTER IX

The Great Migration

A COMMON fallacy not justified by the evidence is the idea that the establishment of Plymouth by the Pilgrims was wholly a religious movement. That the leaders were godly people is unquestioned, yet while there were saints amongst them, there were also sinners. There were even sinners in saint's clothing. The Rev. John Lyford, who had seduced the betrothed of a close friend, was ousted from the colony. In great sadness, they executed for murder, John Billington, a Mayflower passenger. Governor Bradford said that his was "one of the profanest families amongst us", and he pondered as to how such people had intruded themselves into the company. Sir Christopher Gardiner, leaving two wives in the old country, lived openly in New England with a "comely young woman whom he called his cousin, but whome, it was suspected, was his concubine, after the Italian manner." New England provided asylum for many a man who had deserted his wife and family.

Christmas was not recognized as a holiday by the Puritans, and of that day in 1622, Governor Bradford tells us that "on the day called Christmas, the governor called the people out to work as usual, but most of the new-comers excused themselves, saying it went against their conscience to work on that day. So the governor told them that if it was a matter of conscience, he would spare them. So he led the rest away and left them but when they came home at noon from their work he found them in the street at play, openly; some pitching the bar and some at stool-ball and such like sports. So he took away their implements and told them that it was against his conscience that they should play while others worked. If they made the keeping of Christmas a matter of devotion, let them keep to their houses, but there should be no gaming nor revelling in the street. Since which time nothing of the sort has been attempted, at least openly".

They were very human people, the majority of whom had been tenant farmers, small town shopkeepers and the like, craving land and a home of their own. Again we are reminded of John Smith's assertion that he was not so naive as to believe that any motive other than lust for riches would "ever erect there a commonwealth or draw company from their ease at home, to stay in New England".

We have a subconscious picture of the Pilgrims in Holland, on some appointed day, dropping their cares to stroll down to the sea and boarding a ship to sail away to America with thoughts only of God. But life was not as casual as all that. Even the elect subsisted on bread and none amongst them had the ability to multiply loaves and fishes. Nor were ships to be had at the wave of a wand.

Provision for the details of their voyage was long in the making and eventually they were financed by a group of merchant adventurers of London. These were experienced, hard-bitten private bankers who had for years adventured or ventured their money on trading expeditions and who knew all the answers. A group of seventy of these money-lenders advanced an average of £100 each, or a total of £7,000, the equivalent of \$35,000. Reduced to modern values as represented by the purchasing power of the dollar, this would today equal at least \$150,000, or \$1,500 for each one of the *Mayflower* passengers. For collateral the adventurers took, not a mortgage, but actual title to the land grant in America and they also dictated the activities, urging them to establish a communistic state. By 1633 the Pilgrims had repaid every penny of their indebtedness and it must be conceded that any industry, then or now, which in thirteen years can retire its entire capital stock, leaving its plant and resources free and clear, must be an ably managed one.

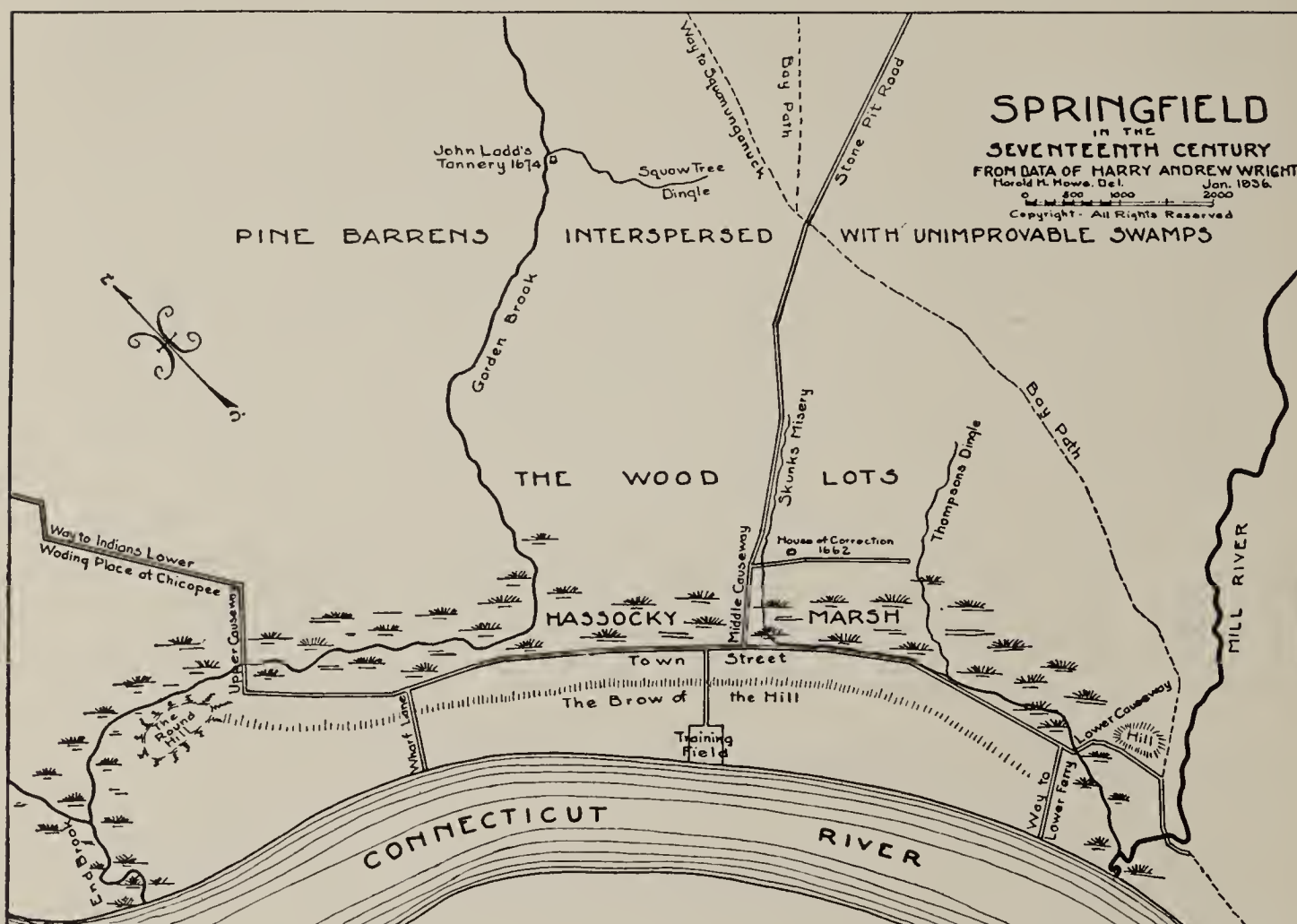
On a November day in 1620 the *Mayflower*, "after long beating at sea, fell in with that land called Cape Cod, which when certainly known, the passengers were not a little joyful". Continuing on for half a day towards their original destination in the vicinity of the Delaware, they were terrified by the "roaring breakers" of the Nantucket shoals, the modern "graveyard of the Atlantic" and turned back to the present Provincetown Harbor, on Cape Cod where they found safe anchorage.

Governor Bradford recorded that "Cape Cod was thus first named by Captain Gosnold in 1602 and after, by Captain Smith, was called Cape James. The point which first showed those dangerous shoals to us we called Point Care and Tucker's Terror, but the French and Dutch call it Malabar". At that early date, only from the maps themselves, could Bradford have known of Malabar.

That the Pilgrims, in advance of their sailing, had a complete knowledge of at least Champlain's and Smith's maps seems undeniable. One is justified in feeling confident that such valuable material would have been a part of the equipment of the Merchant Adventurers. As early as 1613 Champlain's charts could have been bought at the print shop of Jean Berjon at the Sign of the Flying Horse in Paris. John Smith's *Description of New England*, with its map, was published in 1616 and was on sale at Robert Clarke's in Chancery Lane, over against Lincoln's Inn, in London. At three points in his *Journal*, Governor Bradford expresses great familiarity with Smith's map. Smith had offered his personal services to the Pilgrims, which they declined, to save expense, saying that his books and maps were cheaper teachers than himself. It is evident that during that trying

period when the Pilgrims sought a location for a permanent settlement, those charts must have been of priceless value to them.

In 1629 King Charles I granted to William Pynchon, of Springfield, England, and twenty-five other gentlemen adventurers, the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. As contrasted with the professional merchant adventurers who financed the Plymouth project these gentlemen adventurers were mere amateurs, venturing their



own capital on a private enterprise. The result showed their lack of experience, for in a suit for an accounting, brought in 1635 against Thomas Goffe, the treasurer, the testimony shows that the speculators lost their entire investment.

The charter confirmed title to the land previously granted, which was a strip some fifty miles wide, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, that is, fifty miles by three thousand miles, or approximately 150,000 square miles, comprising some 96,000,000 acres, an average of nearly four million acres for each one of the twenty-six adventurers. That at least some of them had visions of a division on such a basis seems evident. In 1718 Sarah Watts, of London, a descendant of Deputy Governor Thomas Goffe, made an unavailing claim on the General Court for one twenty-sixth of the Province. In 1734 her son

renewed the claim and his arguments were so convincing that the Court was glad to settle for one thousand acres of Province lands.

The Massachusetts Bay Company was a joint-stock corporation and was just as purely an industrial concern as is General Motors. In all the ten thousand words of the charter there is but one reference to the church or religion; just a short paragraph admonishing the prospective settlers to so conduct themselves that the natives would be inspired to embrace Christianity.

The organization included a president and a vice president; called a governor and a deputy governor. There was a secretary, a treasurer and a board of directors; called assistants. They held stockholders' and directors' meetings; called courts and general courts. As evidence of their investment, counterparts of modern stock certificates were issued to the investors. William Pynchon's was preserved for years, but during the Massachusetts Tercentenary Celebration in 1930 it was removed from a public exhibit and never recovered. Fortunately, however, a photograph of it remains.

Out of all this, there has survived and come down to us the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with its Governor, Secretary, Treasurer and General Court.

William Pynchon, who founded Springfield, Massachusetts, was born about 1590 in Springfield, Essex, England. He was a grandson of John Pynchon who married a wealthy heiress, daughter of Sir John Empson, one of the ministers of Henry VII, and they had three sons. John, the eldest son, inherited the family property at Springfield, and resided there after he had received his bachelor's degree at New College, Oxford. He married Frances Brett and had two sons and six daughters, the eldest being the William Pynchon who came to America. John the father died in 1610, before the son had reached his majority, but, shortly after coming of age, William inherited the Springfield property and married Anna Andrews of a Northamptonshire family. From this union there came,—

John, born about 1626. On October 30, 1645 he married Amy Willys of Hartford, and died at Springfield, January 17, 1703, aged 77. His wife died January 9, 1699.

Ann, before coming to Springfield, married, presumably at Roxbury, her step-brother Henry Smith. Shortly after her father's permanent return to England in 1652, she joined him and died there.

Mary, married at Springfield, November 20, 1640, Elizur Holyoke of Lynn, son of her father's "ancient friend". She died at Springfield, October 26, 1657.

Margaret, married at Springfield, October 31, 1644, Captain William Davis, a Boston apothecary and died July 3, 1653.

In April, 1630, members of the Massachusetts Bay Company, with their associates and servants, perhaps seven hundred in all, set sail for America in the eleven ships known to history as the Winthrop

Fleet. On the ship *Ambrose* was William Pynchon, one of the Assistants, with his wife, three daughters and his four year old son. Another helpful book, titled *New England's Plantation* was then just off the press and was for sale at the sign of the Blue Bible in Green Arbor, in London. Therein was the suggestion that "whoever desires to know as much as has yet been discovered, are advised to buy Captain John Smith's book, *The Description of New England*."

A seventeenth century sea voyage was a fearful undertaking for carefully nurtured women and children and unaccustomed men. Ships were slow, unseaworthy, leaky, ill-founded and pestilential. Voyages were long and dangerous, sea provisions of bad quality, and the scurvy, their immediate resultant, was as deadly as the plague. Upon the ship's ballast was laid a brick floor on which was built the galley. Here the food was cooked, over wood fires, much as in the great fireplaces of colonial houses, each passenger or his servant cooking their individual food. There was no other warmth save such as was supplied by cumbersome clothing and blankets. The seas were infested with pirates and England being then at war with Spain, the waters swarmed with enemy cruisers.

Of personal comforts and conveniences there were few. Each passenger supplied his own bedding: a coarse canvas sack filled with straw and laid upon the floor, the covering of coarse rugs. They carried "juice of lemons, well put up to prevent or cure the scurvy and burnt wine or sallet oil for such as are sea sick." Each passenger was required to supply for his personal use on the voyage, "a store of fresh provisions, meal, eggs, put up in salt or ground malt, butter, oat meal, peas and fruits and a large strong chest or two, well locked to keep these provisions in. Two or three skillets of several sizes, a large frying pan, a small stewing pan and a case to boil a pudding in,—a store of linen for use at sea, and sack to bestow amongst the sailors, some drinking vessels and pewter and other vessels, and for physic, a pound of Dr. Wright's electuarium lenitium, and his directions for using it,—a gallon of scurvy grass to drink a little of five or six mornings together, with some saltpeter dissolved in it and a little grated or sliced nutmeg." It was also necessary to have on shipboard, a milch cow "which must be well mealed and milked by the way."

For their trading with the natives they required "trucking cloths, toys, copper, tools, knives, mirrors and such like".

For their life in the new country it was necessary to provide a thousand and one things, such as "linen, woolen, bedding, a store of coarse rugs, brass, pewter, leather bottles, drinking horns, axes of several sorts, augers, great and small, mill stones with bracings ready cast, soap, a store of beef suet, meal, well cleansed from bran, sugar, fruit, pepper, ginger, vinegar, onions, garlic, alum, aloes, conserve of red roses, pitch, tar, tallow, oiled skins, both sheep and calf, strong paper and linseed oil for windows, strongest welt shoes and stockings, shoemaker's thread, hob nails, guns, powder, flints, bird shot and bird lime."

John Winthrop the younger did not come to New England with his father but remained for a time in England to dispose of the ancestral estate, and to secure many necessities for the new life. On later ships he forwarded, amongst other things, pear trees, three hundred apple trees and scions of the codling apple. This would imply a thought of grafting the apple to some native tree. With the Winthrop Fleet had gone sixty horses and two hundred and forty cows, but young Winthrop shipped goats, rabbits, hens and turkeys.

Painters and writers delight in picturing early New England Thanksgiving celebrations that almost invariably include bedecked Indians bringing wild turkeys to the feast, when the birds probably came from the barnyard. The turkey was first found in southern Mexico and was taken to Spain in 1519. From there it went to France and Italy and reached England in the reign of Henry VIII. Long before Puritan days it was a common barnyard fowl in England. The bird still shows its Mexican ancestry in its white tipped tail and rump feathers which are quite unlike the chestnut colored tips of the wild turkey native to the Eastern Seaboard.

The fleet sailed from Southampton on March 29, 1630, but was detained by capricious winds and forced to anchor off Yarmouth until April 8th, when the voyage was resumed. Stiff gales soon sent the passengers below, but on April 12th "there was less wind and the people began to grow well again. The children and others that were sick and lay groaning in the cabins were fetched out and having stretched a rope from the steerage to the mainmast, they were made to stand, some on one side and some on the other and sway it up and down, till they were warm and by this means they soon grew well and merry. The captain set the children and young men to some harmless exercises which seamen are very active in and did the people much good though they would sometimes play the wags with them."

On April 23d "about eleven of the clock, the captain of the *Arbella* sent his skiff and fetched aboard the masters of two ships and Mr. Pynchon, and they dined together in the round house, for the Lady *Arbella* and the gentlewomen dined in the great cabin."

"At sea, such an extraordinary storm encountered the fleet, continuing ten days, that of two hundred cattle that were so tossed and bruised that three score and ten died. Many of the people fell sick and after ten weeks they arrived in New England."

On the seventieth day out land was sighted. On the seventy-second day "there came the smell off the shore like the smell of a garden". On Saturday, June 12th, the seventy-sixth day, they came to anchor in the harbor of Salem where was an advance guard of their own people, "about three-hundred, whereof two-hundred were settled at Nehumkek, called Salem and the rest planted themselves at Massachusetts Bay, beginning to build a town there called Charlestown."

"They found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition, about eighty of them being dead the winter before and many of the living

ill and weak." Captain Endicott went out to greet the fleet, and Governor Winthrop and other assistants "and some other gentlemen and some of the women returned with them to Nehumkek, where they supped with good venison pasty and good beer and at night returned to the ship, but some of the women stayed behind. In the meantime, most of the people went ashore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near and gathered store of fine strawberries."

For a few days they tarried there, recovering from the effects of their long voyage, and on June 17th "went to Massachusetts Bay to find a place for their sitting down". At Charlestown "the multitude set up cottages, booths and tents about the Town Hill. Many arrived sick with the scurvy, which also increased much after arrival, for want of houses and by reason of wet lodging in their cottages. Other distempers also prevailed and although the people were generally very loving and pitiful, yet the sickness did so prevail that the whole were not able to tend the sick. Many died and were buried about the Town Hill."

Here William Pynchon's wife Anna, succumbing to the rigors of the voyage, found her home in a nameless grave, and with his children he settled at Dorchester.

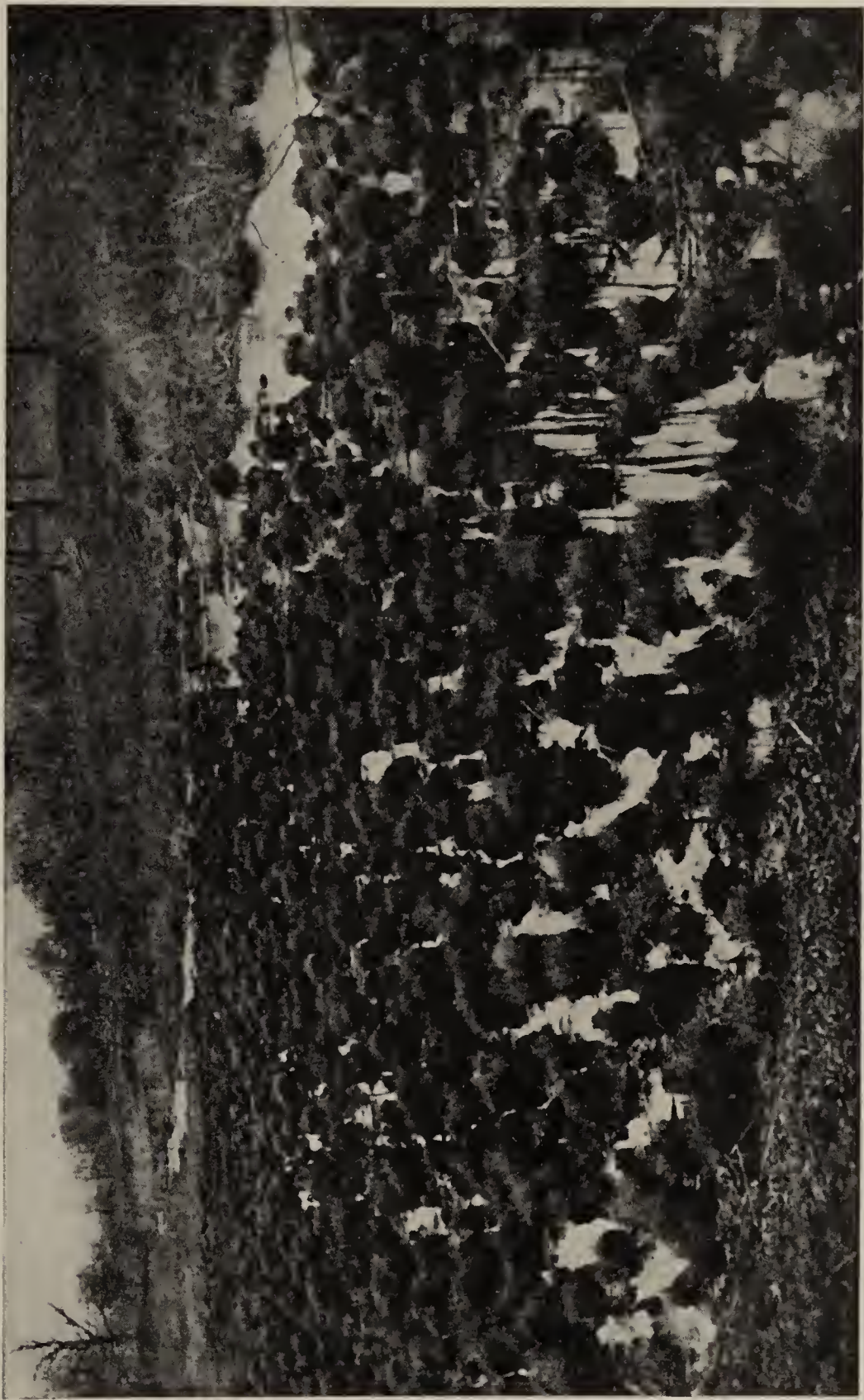
The sufferings of the Pilgrims at Plymouth were quite similar to those of the Puritans who came to Boston ten years later. Modern science has shown that their ills were caused by scurvy, brought on by the long sea voyages and consequent lack of succulent vegetables with their vitamin C content.

Whatever knowledge the Pilgrims may have had as to the cause of their trouble, the Puritans at Boston most certainly recognized both its source and its remedy. Though it was not until 1636 that John Woodhall, master in surgery, published his *Surgeon's Mate or Military and Domestic Medicine*, in which he called attention to the virtues of lemon juice, yet even prior to that time, it was apparent that some knowledge was had of the remedy. Governor Winthrop's wife planned to come to Boston a year later than did her husband and profiting by his own experience, he stressed that she provide "juyce of lemons" for her voyage.

In 1795 citrus juices, as a preventative of scurvy were made a required element of diet in the British navy, and so universal did the custom become that navy men were nicknamed "lime juicers" or "limeys".

On Governor Winthrop's arrival in New England in June, 1630, he ordered that Captain Pierce return immediately to England with the ship *Lyon*, for lemons. It was a long and cruel wait as that ship did not return to Boston until January 9, 1631. In the meantime, recorded Winthrop, "the people were much afflicted with the scurvy and many died, but when this ship came and brought juice of lemons, many speedily recovered".

Had they but realized it, those people had at their very doors, an adequate remedy for their sore condition, for the cranberry, which



Hassocky Marsh at Springfield

then grew so bounteously about them had an equal vitamin C content with the lemon. The berry is noticeably firm when ripe, and when protected by snow remains on the vine all winter, so that it was available to both groups of settlers in those harrowing days. Colonel James Smith, who was captured by the French and Indians at Fort Duquesne in 1755 and lived for four years with the Indians in Ohio and Michigan, said that "cranberries, which grew in swamps were gathered by the Indians when the swamps were frozen. These berries were about as large as rifle bullets, of a bright red color and of agreeable flavor, though rather too sour of themselves, but when mixed with sugar, had a very agreeable taste". Obviously, maple sugar is here referred to.

Though the small, or European cranberry is indigenous to northern England, it is doubtful if it was known to those people from the more southerly parts of that country, who came to New England in the early days. Here, however, it was known and used by the Indians, though, obviously without knowledge as to the reason for its value. Moreover, the English berry was much smaller and far less attractive in color than that of New England, so that its kinship would not have been readily apparent. Further evidence that it was not common in England is shown by the account books of John Hull, the mint-master and maker of the Pine Tree shillings. He was also a merchant in Boston and (*circa* 1675) made several shipments of cranberries to London. Ten barrels were sent as a gift to King Charles II. Thus early did the English come to appreciate cranberries.

That in early days the berry was unknown to those English people is indicated by the act of William Pynchon, who, in 1636, acquired from the Indians, the territory which became Springfield. In the written conveyance for those lands, the natives reserved to their own use "a kind of pease", which they called *sasachiminesh*. Though Pynchon called them "a kind of pease", showing his lack of familiarity with them, their identity is evident. Moreover, Pynchon's observation was in the summer, when they were immature and green in color, so that their likeness to peas was then more apparent.

To the philologist, there is no doubt as to the meaning of the Indian word. *Sasa* is a reduplicative form of *see*, sour. *Chi* is big; *min*, berry; *esh*, plural ending, showing the literal meaning to be "very sour big berries". That the berry was the cranberry is evidenced by Roger Williams, who in 1643, gave *sasemineash* as the Narraganset word for cranberries. That is quite similar to Pynchon's form of the word, except that it lacks the adjective *chi* and so means merely "very sour berries". Williams said that the cranberry was a "sharp cooling fruit growing in fresh waters all the winter, excellent in conserve against fevers".

Thus, it would appear, that with a better knowledge of the natural resources of their adopted country, the worst horrors of their early days might have been spared to those pioneers.

The value of the vitamin C content of the cranberry was undoubtedly recognized by the Indians, though in an unscientific and unthinking way. Through thousands of years of experimenting and selecting, the natives had learned just what natural resources were of value, as did the birds and the beasts. It was a generally accepted fact that any red berry had its virtues while any blue one was questioned. Much of the brawn and health of the Indians was quite possibly due to the cranberry. For forty years, and until the Springfield Indians forsook the region after the close of King Philip's War, they were loyally upheld by the settlers in their insistence that they "be not wronged in their pease".

From the Massachusetts Indian, Chickataubut, Pynchon bought a great tract of land in that part of Dorchester which later became Quincy. From the Neponset River on the north, it extended southerly to Mount Wollaston and easterly to the sea by Squantum. His house was built on the south side of the river, near its mouth. There the country gentleman became the merchant and trader, with his own ships, exchanging with both English and Indians up and down the coast, goods which he imported from England, for corn and furs. In the great storm of October, 1631, one of his vessels, "coming from Sagadahock, was cast away at Cape Ann, but the men and chief goods saved and the boat recovered". Not only was he occupied with the numberless exactions of his new life, but in addition there were many matters left unfinished in his old home. Hardly had he landed, when in July, 1630, he arranged to have the Governor's son, John Winthrop, Jr., who was still in England, to "call at Mr. Richard Andrews in Bowe Lane for £20, and pay it to Mr. Andrews at the Mermaid in Cheapside",—the Mermaid Tavern of song and story; the haunt of Raleigh,—of Shakespeare and of Beaumont.

CHAPTER X

Early New England Houses

IN RECENT years there has been some difference of opinion as to the type of house built by the first settlers in southern New England. Log houses were unquestionably used in frontier towns at a later period, and this has led to a confusion which assigns them to the earliest times. The available evidence would indicate:

That the settlers established here prior to 1638 were without traditions or knowledge of log houses.

That contemporary books, journals, letters and records, though profuse with details of other abodes, make no mention of log houses.

That timber sufficient for their construction was not available.

A log house, as here mentioned, refers to the type familiar at a later period in the Middle West, made from whole logs with the bark on, the overlapping ends of which were cut-out and let-in at the corners, the interstices between the logs being filled with clay and moss.

An English Pilgrim settling at Plymouth in 1620, or an English Puritan coming to Boston in 1630, would have had as much knowledge of how to build such a log house, as he would have had of an Eskimo igloo,—and no more. He could not have had the slightest conception of what it was all about.

It is possible that, among the roving mariners on the ships, there might have been ones who had seen such a structure in Russia or Scandinavia, but the emigrants themselves, small-town lawyers, merchants, mechanics, farmers, simply would never have even heard of them.

Apparently, the first log houses in America were built by the Swedes and Finns who settled at Delaware in 1638, where they introduced the house of logs with notched ends, with which they were familiar in their homeland. In time, the idea was carried westward and back east, but it was many years before such was known in New England. The earliest log house, of record in Springfield, was built by David Morgan for John Pyncheon in 1678, presumably for the use of a sheep herder.

The English of Boston and Plymouth were constantly passing back and forth between New England and Virginia, with stops at New

Amsterdam and New Sweden so that eventually a knowledge of log house construction was inevitable. Van der Donck, in 1655, said that "most of the English of New England who wish to go south to Virginia, to South River, or to other southern places, pass through the East River, which brings no small traffic and advantage to the city of New Amsterdam. This also causes the English to frequent our harbors, to which they are invited for safety."

It is true, that at an early period, a building of the so-called block house construction (the *block bau* of the Germans) was occasionally built here, but such were not of the type referred to. The latter were of logs, squared on at least two sides so as to fit closely together, a structure of solid timbers, piled one on another. Where ample timber was available, they were as speedily and economically constructed as a framed house and had the advantage of being bullet proof. But they were community fortresses; not houses. Examples of this type still exist, with a later covering of clapboards over the hewn timbers.

It is equally true that for defensive purposes, the English used upright logs, set into the ground, in imitation of the Indian stockades. During their first year at Plymouth, the Pilgrims "agreed to inclose their dwellings with a good strong pale and make flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut, which were every night locked and a watch kept. This was accomplished and the town impaled around by the beginning of March, in which every family had a pretty garden." In February, 1677-78, the town of Springfield arranged for "the fortification of the new meeting house with logs ten foot and one half in length and between ten and twelve inches in breadth".

In 1637 Philip Vincent described a Pequot fort as follows: "They pitch, close together as they can, young trees and half trees, as thick as a mans thigh or the calf of his leg. Ten or twelve foot high they are above the ground and within, rammed three foot deep with undermining, the earth being cast up for their better shelter against the enemy's dischargements. Betwixt these palisadoes are divers loop-holes, through which they let fly their winged messengers. The door, for the most part, is entered sideways, which they stop with boughs or bushes, as need requireth. The space therein is full of wigwams".

William Byrd saw a similar fortification in Virginia in 1728. "This fort was a square piece of ground, enclosed with substantial puncheons, or strong palisades, about ten feet high, and leaning a little outwards, to make a scalade more difficult. Each side of the square might be about a hundred yards long, with loop-holes at proper distances, through which they fire upon the enemy. Within this enclosure we found bark cabins sufficient to lodge all their people".

Of all the timber buildings in England known to the people who emigrated to America in the seventeenth century, there exists but one made of logs. At Greenstead, Essex, there still stands a Saxon church built entirely of logs. Its walls are formed of half trunks of trees, but set upright, with the split side facing inwards, each half trunk being tenoned into a plate above and a sill below. Buildings of

horizontal logs simply did not exist in England and were unknown to the people who came here.

Contemporary journals and letters provide ample evidence as to the type of shelters first used by the New England pioneers. Unfortunately, Bradford gives little definite information as to the houses first built at Plymouth, but he at least makes no mention of log



Bartholomew's Cobbles, Sheffield

houses. He frequently mentions houses but gives little clue as to their type.

Mourt relates that on Saturday, December 23, 1620, as many as could, went ashore: "felled and carried timber to provide themselves stuff for building", and the following Monday "went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, some to carry; so no man rested all that day".

Bradford tells us that on that Christmas Day they "began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods and after they had provided a place for their goods or common store, they began some small cottages for their habitation". However, as on January 14, 1621, "the house which they had made for a general

rendezvous, by casualty fell afire'', it can readily be assumed that it was of rather light construction, with a thatched roof, as recorded data concerning Massachusetts Bay houses of the following decade show that it was buildings of that type that were constantly menaced by fire.

On the *Mayflower* came John Alden, the cooper, and a cooper was a woodworker of more than average ability. Also on the *Mayflower* was Francis Eaton, a carpenter. Moreover, the ship remained at Plymouth until April, 1621, and of necessity there must have been ship carpenters in her crew. A ship carpenter was more than competent to build a house after the English manner. The following year, William Bassett an iron worker, and William Palmer a nail maker, came on the *Fortune*. Also, in 1621, came on the *Ann*, Edward Bangs a shipwright, and on the *Little James*, John Jenney, another cooper. It is hard to imagine these craftsmen building houses not in accordance with the traditions of the trade, and buildings of horizontal logs were most definitely not traditional with them.

In September, 1623, a number of houses at Plymouth were destroyed by a fire which damaged "the end of the storehouse which was wattled up with boughs, in the withered leaves of which the fire was kindled, a firebrand an ell long lying under the wales on the inside". By no fair reasoning can such details be construed as referring to anything but a building of framed construction, with a wattle-and-daub outer covering, such as the settlers had known in the old country. That same year, the ship *Ann* returned to England "laden with clapboards". Clapboards were then used for making barrels, but from pure necessity were later adopted for house siding. This ingenious adaptation was so successful that such use has been common practice to the present time. Surely, people with the ability to prepare a shipload of clapboards were capable of building framed houses. Furthermore, log house building is most wasteful of lumber, which was none too plentiful in the vicinity of Plymouth. The settlers needed every available bit for export to pay their pressing debts and obligations.

Apparently there was a ready market for clapboards. In telling of the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, Smith said that "until the thirteenth of May they sought a place to plant in; now falleth every man to work, the council to contrive the fort, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tents; some provide clapboards to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets".

About 1626 the Plymouth people built a trading house at Manamet, some twenty miles south of Plymouth, which, after long research, was reproduced by the Bourne Historical Society in 1930. Careful investigation showed that the original building stood on a cellar of field stones, at least a part having been laid up in mortar. The immense chimney was of brick and the house seems to have been clapboard and shingled. It unquestionably was equipped with leaded glass windows, having diamond panes.

In 1633 still another trading house was established by Plymouth; at what is now Windsor, on the Connecticut. There they erected the first English-built house in Connecticut and the records show that it was not a log house. Bradford reports that "having made a small frame of a house ready, and having a great new barque, they stowed their frame in her hold and boards to cover and finish it, having nails and all other provisions fitting for their use. Coming to their place, they clapped up their house quickly and afterwards palisaded their house about and fortified themselves".

Plymouth, however, must bear the onus of most persistently perpetuating the log house myth. Some years ago, a person of the type that Dr. Edward Everett Hale dubbed as "a late and insufficient authority", perpetrated a painting purporting to depict Plymouth Street with long rows of log cabins. This has been reproduced in countless ways, especially on picture post cards, an appalling quantity of which, trippers have for years mailed all over the world. Emanating from the cradle of history, they have been accepted as something simon-pure and authentic and have long been used in schools by careless educators.

Francis Higginson came to Salem in 1629, where he "found about half a score houses, and a fair house newly built for the governor".

The people who came to Boston in 1630 knew it to be in the same latitude as Rome, and expecting to find here a similar climate, many brought tents for temporary shelter. When their illusions were dispelled by experience, they made huts of boughs and bark, in the Indian fashion, or dug caves in banks, which they shored up with timber and roofed over with riven boards.

But they made no mention of log houses.

Edward Johnson said: "They burrow themselves in the earth for their first shelter, under some hillside, casting the earth aloft up on the timber and thus provide shelter for themselves, their wives and little ones". This was the type of shelter first constructed by the Dorchester people at Windsor, Connecticut. A cave, dug into the river bank composed three walls; the front was of boards with a door and window; the roof of thatch or sod. The last of these long-abandoned dugouts was filled in as recently as 1926.

Bartholomew Green related that when his father arrived at Boston in 1630, "for lack of housing he was wont to find shelter at night in an empty cask". Of the first of the Massachusetts Bay people Johnson said: "They pitched some tents of cloth, others built them huts in which they lodged their wives and children". Winthrop records that "the poorer sort of people, who lay long in tents were much afflicted with scurvy".

It should be observed that the word tent, as early used, was far more comprehensive than at present and referred to any frame covered with cloth, skins or other material which afforded warmth. Johnson is quite specific in his mention of "tents of cloth". On the other hand, Winthrop, in his use of the word, apparently referred to any hut or shack of a temporary nature.

From Boston, March 28, 1630-31, Thomas Dudley wrote to the Countess of Lincoln of an "accident of fire which also befel Mr. Sharp and Mr. Colburn, upon the seventeenth of March; both of whose houses (which were as good and as well furnished as most in the plantation) were in two hours space burned to the ground; together with much of their household stuff, apparel and other things; as also some goods of others, who sojourned with them in their houses. For the prevention whereof, in our new town intended this summer to be builded; we have ordered that no man shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented unto; for that divers other houses had been burned since our arrival".

Most certainly these were "first houses", for these people had arrived only the previous summer. Dudley was describing the unusual things of the new world. Had he met with anything so foreign to an English woman as a log house, he surely would have mentioned it.

There is amply evidence to show that though log cabins were built by pioneers of a later period, on another frontier, along the Atlantic coast, in the early seventeenth century, the same type of people built wigwams. It was but the natural and common-sense thing to do,—a following of the line of least resistance and taking advantage of what the country had to offer. William Byrd relates how similar emergencies were met by experienced pioneers at a later period and in another locality, but under similar primitive conditions. In Virginia, in 1728, he said: "The cedars were of singular use to us in the absence of our tent which we had left with the rest of the baggage for fear of overloading the periaugs. We made a circular hedge of the branches of this tree, wrought so close together as to fence us against the cold winds. We then kindled a rousing fire in the center of it, and lay around it like so many knights templars".

At Saco, in 1623, Christopher Levett built a wigwam in an hour,— "it had no frame, only a few poles set up together and covered with our boates sailes". Roger Clap, who came to Charlestown in 1630, said that "before they could build at Boston, they lived, many of them, in tents and wigwams". In August, 1631, "the Tarentines rifled a wigwam where Mr. Cradock's men kept to catch sturgeon". John Goyt came to Marblehead in 1637 and "first built a wigwam and lived there till he got a house". In Maryland, in 1634, one of the adventurers, after describing the Indians' wigwams, added that "many of us live in these witchotts (as they term them) conveniently enough till better be set up. But they are dressed up something better than when the Indians had them."

These "English wigwams", as they were called, differed from those of the natives in two important respects. To conserve heat, the Indian wigwam had a door so low that the occupant went in and out on hands and knees. During the Connecticut tercentenary celebration a replica of an Algonkian wigwam was built at Glastonbury. It was a commendable effort, but, lacking better material, the covering was of pig skins, quite uniform in size, so that the illustration was

not all that could be desired. A hole, a foot in diameter in the earth floor, held the fire. With the low doorway, even on a blustery fall day, the heat inside was almost unbearable.

The white man's wigwam had a man-height door frame with a hinged door, as well as a chimney and fireplace. This chimney, a cribwork of round sticks, plastered with clay, was a constant fire hazard. In October, 1630, Winthrop noted that "Finch, of Watertown, had his wigwam burnt with all his goods". On November 10th of that same year "Giles Firmin of Watertown had his wigwam burnt".

People of means, of course, had no need to rely on such crude structures, for the Winthrop fleet brought competent mechanics, equipped with adequate tools. In October, 1631, "the governor, having erected a building of stone at Mistick, there came a violent rain, two sides of it were washed down to the ground, it being not finished and laid with clay for want of lime; much harm was done to other houses by that storm". In May, 1632, Thomas Dudley was taken to task by the governor "for bestowing so much cost on wainscoting his house and otherwise adorning it", but remonstrated that he had merely clapboarded the inner walls for warmth. In August, 1632, John Oldham "had a small house at Watertown, made all of clapboards, burnt down".

On a timber framework, they tacked willow shoots and plastered the sides with clay, the "wattle-and-daub" of their ancestors. When they found this construction, though durable in the climate of England, succumbed to New England weather conditions, they added an outer covering of clapboards. Such construction can be seen today in the Fairbanks house at Dedham, with the "wattle-and-daub" under the clapboards.

When the settlement of Saybrook was planned, in 1635, to supervise the establishment of the colony, the sponsors imported from Holland, Lionel Gardiner, an experienced engineer. Gardiner arrived at Boston in November, 1635, on the ship *Batchelor*, which brought for the enterprise, iron work for two drawbridges and material for portcullises. This would indicate visions of moated castles, rather than log cabins.

Instructions were given to provide at least fifty men "for making of fortifications and building of houses". September 15, 1635, Sir Arthur Hasselrigge wrote asking that "with what speed possible, fit houses be builded". September 22, Sir Henry Lawrence demanded "convenient buildings for the receipt of gentlemen". February 23, 1636, Sir Matthew Boynton asked "what course I shall take for providing a house against my coming over, where I may remain with my family, till I can be better provided".

For a number of reasons, these grandiose schemes failed to materialize in full, but a stockade or "fort" was actually built, enclosing a rather pretentious "Great Hall".

Similar conditions existed in all the early New England settlements. They were financed by men of substance who relied on those

of experience for the details of operation. At Springfield, in 1636, one of the three who financed the project was Jehu Burr, a carpenter of ample means. The earliest house there of which any detailed record remains was the one built in 1639 for George Moxon, the first minister. The specifications provided "for the frame of a house, thirty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide, with a porch, five feet out and seven feet wide, with a study over head, with stairs into the cellar and chamber, making doors and laying boards for four rooms, with double chimneys; for the thatching of the house; for the sawing of all the boards and slit work; four locks, with nails and hooks and hinges for the doors; for the daubing of the house and chimneys, undepinning the frame; making the stack and over seven feet high; with laths and nails."

Newport, Rhode Island, was established in 1639 and that first year it was "ordered that Ralph Earle and Mr. Wilbore his copartner shall serve the town with good sufficient stuff, vizt; with sawn board at eight shillings the hundred and one half inch board at seven shillings; to be delivered at the pit by the waterside and clapboards and pale at twelve pence a foot."

Substantial houses of that decade survive in sufficient numbers to provide full knowledge of their construction.

For some fifty years, this writer has in vain sought for one single early seventeenth century mention of a log house in southern New England. Though the search will be continued with all eagerness, he is confident that such will never be found.

In support of the early log house theory, it has been argued that cutting timber for such served the double purpose of clearing the land for planting and providing a supply of building material as well.

This presupposes a condition which did not exist. These Englishmen were without experience in forest clearing and had no need to acquire it. The lands bought from the Indians by the early settlers were the cleared fields of the natives and the rich alluvial meadows which could be had in quantities far in excess of their needs. Hitchcock's *Geology of Massachusetts* (1835) says: "In some instances the deposition of alluvium on the Connecticut, the Deerfield and the Westfield is fifteen to twenty feet thick. Logs, leaves, walnuts, butternuts are frequently imbedded to that depth and but slightly changed. Every river in the state and every brook present tracts of this stratum. The consequence is a great fertility of soil."

It was the pioneer of a later century who hewed his habitation from the forest.

After the termination of Queen Anne's War in 1713 there was a little cautious venturing into the hill country, but not for more than another quarter century was there much occupancy of the Berkshires or the Taconics. Then was the high tide of the log house era in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for the forests by then had been long unmolested and provided ample material. Craftsmen were then not as adept with the whip-saw as were their fathers. In the hill

towns, saw-mills were not early available. A knowledge of log house construction had been acquired from adjoining settlements and the adoption of such a structure was most logical.



Mission House, Stockbridge

First Indian Mission in the County, now restored and furnished with early American furniture.

Ample evidence exists to show that in the eighteenth century, log houses were fairly common. Mr. J. Frederick Kelly cites the three following examples in Connecticut:

Until quite recently there stood in North Fairfield a log house which the Fairfield land records indicate was built between 1685 and 1700.

The earliest records of Judea Society (now the town of Washington) are missing, but the Rev. H. B. Turner examined them before they were lost and says they contained a vote passed in 1742 to build a log house twenty-five feet long and twenty feet wide, to be used as a meeting house.

On December 20, 1743, the town of Salisbury voted "that we shall build a log house on the ministers seventy five acre pitch".

¹¹⁴¹The settlement of Adams and Cheshire, Massachusetts, commenced in 1768, and rather convincing tradition quoted by William B. Browne of Adams, indicates that the first houses there were of logs.

To a great degree, the persistence of the erroneous belief that the earliest homes of the New England settlers were log houses, is due to a lack of realization of forest conditions at the time the early settlements were being established. These conditions are herein discussed, under the title "Primitive Forests".

At the moment it is sufficient to say that while popular fancy pictures the region as one of unbroken forests, yet in southern New England there is today more wooded area than when the Pilgrims landed. At least south of the Merrimac and east of the Connecticut and on the entire Connecticut coast, the semi-annual burnings of the Indians destroyed practically all timber except that growing in swamps and other low, wet lands. This scarcity of timber alone would have been such a deterrent in any plan for building this type of house as to make it prohibitive.

The destruction of the Pequots in 1637 put an end to this custom in parts of Connecticut and in other settled communities, and gradual improvements came about. In 1640 Governor Coddington, at Rhode Island, made a treaty with the sachem Miantonomo, in which it was agreed that "no Indian whatever shall, winter or summer, kindle or cause to be kindled, any fire upon our lands, but such as they shall put forth immediately upon their departure". Thus protected, that which was but a maple seed or an acorn at the time of the Pequot war, became a tree more than a century old, at the time these northern Connecticut buildings were erected and of sufficient size for such a purpose.

Numerous early writers confirm these statements, and contemporary records attest their accuracy. Springfield was established May 14, 1636. The earliest town order, or record, is that of October 17, 1636, which provided "that from this day forward, no trees shall be cut down or taken away by any man, in the compass of ground from the Mill river upward to John Reader's lot". These limits included the entire town plot and all of the town in which any individual had proprietary rights.

The width of a dug-out canoe was but the breadth of a man and an especially large tree was not required for its construction, yet so scarce were such trees that in Springfield, as early as February 14, 1638-39, provision was made for their conservation. On April 16, 1640 restrictions were made even more drastic and it was "ordered that no man shall fall any canoe tree that shall be within the bounds of the plantation". Here was a tract of at least twenty-five or thirty square miles, with a total adult population of seventeen, in which there were not available enough canoe trees so that they could be freely used. Less than one tree to a square mile would have provided a canoe for every inhabitant.

In 1639 the town of Newport, Rhode Island, proceeded "against Ralph Earle for his falling of timber contrary to order" and provided that none of it should be removed from the town.

In 1672 Springfield appointed a committee to examine "the timber of the cedar swamps at Manchconis and make purchase (from the Indians) of what they judge needful for the town".

Guilford, Connecticut, ordered "all cedar swamps to be reserved for the town's use".

Similar restrictions will be found in the records of almost all of the earlier established towns, indicating an extreme scarcity of timber. Even if the early settlers had been conversant with the details of log house construction, such uneconomical use of lumber would have prohibited their use. Students, architects and historians have repeatedly pointed out the fallacy of the tradition that the first homes of the New England pioneers were log cabins, yet novelists, poets and painters continue to resuscitate the legend and keep it alive. The persistence with which such misleading tales are repeated and believed by intelligent people, is beyond comprehension. Familiarity with the literature of the period should alone convince one of the palpableness of such an error.

It is true that the first homes of the first settlers in certain towns were log houses, but not in the earliest established settlements.

CHAPTER XI

America's Three Gifts

AMERICA'S three greatest gifts to the world were tobacco, potatoes and Indian corn, none of which were known to the Eastern Hemisphere prior to the discovery of America. Tobacco never became an economic factor in colonial New England, nor did the potato until the first quarter of the 18th century.

The true potato is the sweet potato which was first encountered by Europeans in the West Indies where the natives gave to members of the first Columbus expedition "some boiled roots to eat, not unlike chestnuts in taste". The name itself is a corruption of the native name *batata*. This sweet potato became quite popular with the early pioneers and it is the *batata* which is usually meant by the early English writers when they mention potatoes and which were brought into New England in the seventeenth century.

John Winthrop, Jr., and Thomas Mayhew financed a speculative voyage to the West Indies during the winter of 1635-1636, shipping out corn and pork and returning to New England with potatoes, oranges and lemons. Governor Winthrop, at Boston, March 8, 1636, said that "the ship *Rebecca* came from Bermuda with thirty thousand weight of potatoes, bought there for two shillings eight pence a bushel and sold here for two pence a pound". The standard of weight for sweet potatoes being fifty-four pounds to the bushel, there were five hundred fifty-five bushels in this shipment. With a cost for the lot of seventy-five pounds sterling in Bermuda and a retail price of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling at Boston, the potatoes alone provided a neat profit considering that it was for but one leg of a two-way voyage, of which the outward trip was probably equally lucrative. Yet the retail price of nine shillings (\$2.16) a bushel at Boston was not at all exorbitant, compared with home-grown wheat which was then priced at six shillings a bushel.

From Saybrook, Connecticut, Lionel Gardiner wrote to the younger Winthrop at Boston, on November 6, 1636,—“I hear that the barque, the *Bachelor*, is to bring us provisions. I pray you that when she comes from the Bermudas, you will remember us with some potatoes, for there hath been some Virginians here that hath taught us to plant them after another way, and I have put it in practice

and found it good''. But that was years before white potatoes were even known of in New England.

No European ever saw a white potato until Pedro de Cieza de Leon, in 1538, found the natives in the Cauca valley of Columbia living on a "kind of ground nut, which, when boiled, becomes as soft as a cooked chestnut".

About 1580 Spanish ships took this "truffle" to Europe, where via Vienna, with the careful nursing of Charles L'Ecluse, it reached



Tobacco Barn, Hadley

Germany. There it is still known under the misnomer of truffle (*kartoffel*). The original settlers of the Pennsylvania Dutch section of Pennsylvania came from their native Rhine valley at the invitation of William Penn. Here their descendants today continue to regale their guests with *kartoffel kloesse* (potato croquettes) as did their ancestors in Germany, three centuries ago.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the potato reached Ireland where it made no great impression for a time, but it was eventually taken up with much enthusiasm, for not only was it recognized as a good substitute for the staple oatmeal (potatoes dipped in salted milk becoming the daily diet of the Irish peasantry) but the sons of Erin found that it made a most excellent whiskey. Lord

Chesterfield, who wrote those famous "Letters to His Son", said to him,—“A quart of soup and two pounds of potatoes for your supper will enable you to pass the night without too great impatience for your breakfast next morning. The potato is the constant diet of my old friends and countrymen, the Irish, who are the healthiest and strongest men that I know in Europe”.

After the siege of Londonderry, Ireland, came the emigration of the northern Irish Protestants to America and those Scotch-Irish brought the potato with them to Londonderry in 1719. Thence its cultivation spread all over America and today it is grown in all the temperate countries of the world. In the early stages of its culture, many humorous incidents were due to misunderstandings and often the vines were boiled and eaten, the potato itself remaining unsuspected in the ground until thrown out by the plow the following spring.

Corn is a generic name for all seeds used in making bread. It has also a specific sense and in any country it denotes the prevalent breadstuff of the people. Thus, in England, corn means wheat; in Scotland it means oats; and in America, maize or Indian corn. The early New England settlers called it Indian corn or Indian wheat, or often simply Indian.

To the Indian, corn was literally the staff of life. Meat he seldom had, as game was not plentiful and his means for taking such were limited, hence corn and fish were his main articles of food. To the Indian of southern New England, corn was known as *weatchimin* (the plant or corn in the field), plural *weatchiminneash*. The word is compounded of *min*, plural *minneash*, grain, fruit and a word which is related to *meechum*, he eats it; the primitive form or radical force of which it is impossible to determine.

Maize was not unknown in England in the sixteenth century. John Gerard, the Elizabethan herbalist investigated the qualities of the plant and expressed an unfavorable opinion. In 1597 he wrote: “It cometh to ripeness when the summer falleth out to be fair and hot as myself has seen in mine own garden near Fetter Lane in Holborn, London. It doth nourish far less than either wheat, rye, barley or oats”.

As early as 1645 “divers worthy persons, inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning did meet weekly in London to treat of such affairs”. After the Restoration, these persevering philosophers were, in 1662, through the “grace and favor” of Charles II, incorporated into the Royal Society of London, for the promotion of natural knowledge. To this Society, John Winthrop, Jr., then Governor of Connecticut, and in London on official business, was elected to membership in 1662, the year of its incorporation. From such colonials, the Society solicited and received voluminous reports on natural resources of value to Great Britain. In accordance with that custom and perhaps as an initiatory duty, Winthrop submitted the following essay.

"INDIAN CORNE

The Corne which was used in New England before the English inhabited any of those parts, is called by the Natives there Weachim, and is the same which hath beene knowne by the Name of Mays in some Southerne partes of America. This sorte of Corne is generally made use of in many parts of America for their food, and although in the Northerne Plantations, where the English and Dutch are settled, there is plenty of Wheat, and other Graine, yet this sort of Corne is still much in use there both for Bread, and other kind of food made out of it. It seemes in those times before it was so well knowne, Mr. Gerard had beene informed of it, as if it were a Graine not so pleasant or fitt to be Eaten by mankind, as may appeare by what he writeth of it in his Herball page 83, That it is hard of Digestion, and yeildeth little or no Nourishment *etc.* (yet acknowledged, there had beene yet no certaine prooffe or experience of it), yet it is now found by much Experience, that it is wholesome and pleasant for Food of which great Variety may be made out of it.

The Composure of the Eare is very beautifull, being sett in Even Rowes, every Graine in each Rowe over against the other, at equall distance, there being commonly Eight Rowes upon the Eare and sometimes more, according to the Goodness of the Ground. It hath also usually above thirty Graines in one Row, the number of Rowes and Graines being according to the Strength of the Ground, the Eare is commonly about a Span long.

Nature hath delighted it selfe to beautify this Corne with great Variety of Colours, the White, and the Yellow being most common, being such a yellow as is betwene Straw Colour, and a pale yellow; there are also of very many other Colours, as Red, Yellow, Blew, Olive Colour, and Greenish, and some very black and some of Intermediate degrees of such Colours, also many sorts of mixt colours and speckled or striped, and these various coloured Eares often in the same field and some Graines that are of divers Colours in the same Eare.

This Beautifull noble Eare of Corne is Cloathed and Armed with strong thick huskes of many doubles, which provident nature hath made usefull to it many wayes, for it not onely defends it from the cold, and too much moisture of unseasonable Raine (which sometimes may happen) and the Cold of the Nights which might hinder the Ripening of it (being the latter end of September in some parts before it be full Ripe) and possibly the Injury of some blasting Winds, but also defends it from the Crowes, Sterlings, and other Birds, which would otherwise devour whole fields of it before it could come to its full maturity. These Birds especially Sterlings come in greate flights into the fields, when the Eare beginneth to be full, before it hardneth, and being allured by the Sweetness of the Corne, will sitt upon the stalke, or the Eare it selfe, and so pick at the Corne through the huske at the top of the Eare (for there it is tenderest) and not cease that worke till they have pulled away some of the huske that they

may come at the Corne, which wil be plucked out so farr as they can come at it. There groweth within the Huske upon the Corne a matter like small threads which appeare out of the top of the Eare like a tuft of haire or Silke.

The Stalke of this Corne groweth to the Height of 6 or 8 foot and more or less according to the Condition of the Ground, and the kind of Seed. The Stalkes of the Virginian Seed grow taller then that of the New England, or the intermediate places: But there is another sort which the Northerne Indians farr up in the Countrey use that groweth much shorter then the New England Corne, the Stalke of every sort is Joynted like to a Cane and is full of sweete Juice like the Sugar Cane, and a Syrrup as sweete as Sugar Syrrup may be made of it which hath beene often tryed, and Meates Sweetned with it have not beene discerned, from the like sweetness with Sugar, some trialle may make it knowne whether it may be brought into a dry Substance like Sugar, but it is probable it may be done. At every Joynt there are long Leaves like flaggs, and at the very top there is a bunch like Eares as if it were some kind of small Graine, and Blossoms like the Blossoms of Rye upon them but are wholly Barren, and an empty huske conteyning nothing in it.

The time of planting this Corne in that Countrey is any time betweene the middle of March and the beginning of June, but the most usuall time is from the middle of Aprill to the middle of May: The Indians observe in some parts of that Countrey a Rule from the comeing up of a Fish called Aloofes into the Rivers and Brookes for the time to begin their planting, in other parts they observe the Leaves of some trees beginning to put forth:

In the Southerly parts of that Continent as Virginia, and Florida they have their sooner Seasons, and in the Northerly parts, and Upland parts are later, where they use a peculiar kind of that Corne which is called Mowhawkes Corne, which though planted in June wil be Ripe in Season, the Stalkes are shorter than the other Sorts, and the Eares grow neerer the bottom of the Stalke and are generally of divers Colours.

The Manner of planting every kind of this Corne, is in Rowes at equall distance every way about five or Six foote asunder, they open the Earth with a How, takeing away the Superfices three or fower Inches deepe and the breadth of the How which is used, and in the middle of that hole they throw in fower, or five Graines of that Corne, a little distant one from the other, as they may fall and place themselves accidentally covering them with Earth. Of these Graines if but two or three grow up it may do well, for some of them are usually plucked up by the Crowes or Birds, or Mouse-Squirrels (a little creature, that doth much hurt in some Fields newly planted). After the Corne is growne up, the length of an hand, it wilbe time to weed about it, which is done by a broad how, which cuts up the Weeds, and looseneth the Earth and this Labour is so often performed as the Weeds do grow up in any Quantity.

When the Stalke beginneth to grow high, they draw (at the second weeding) a little Earth about it, and afterwards, as it groweth higher, and puteth forth the Eare, they draw so much Earth about these Stalkes, that maketh a little hill like hopp hills, using the same manner, as they do hopp grounds with broad Howes. After this they have no other business about it till Harvest, when they gather it, which doth not require great haste, (if it be secured from cattle) when it is gathered it must be as soon as may be stripped from the Huskes, except it be laid very thin, otherwise it will heate and grow mouldy, and sometimes sprout in the huskes: where they have Roome enough to spread the Eares thin, and keepe them dry, they onely pull off the huske, and lay the Eares thin in their Chambers and Garretts, but the Common way is to weave it together in long traices by some parts of the husks left upon the Eare (this worke they call traicing) and these traices they hang upon Stayes or other bearers without doors, or within, for it will keepe good and sweete hung in that manner all the Winter after, though it be in all weather without. The Natives commonly thresh it out as they gather it, and dry it well upon Matts in the Sun, and then bestow in holes in the Ground (which are their Barnes) well lined with withered Grass, and with Matts, and then covered with the like and over that covered with Earth, and so it keepes very well till they use it, this was the way of planting used by the Natives, and English also, But now the English have found out an Easier way of raising Quantity of that Corne by the helpe of the Plough, which is performed in this manner. In the planting time there are single furrowes ploughed through the whole field, about Six foote asunder more or less, as they will plant in distance, then they plow such like furrowes Cross at the same distance, and where the Cross furrowes meete there they throw in the Corne as before mentioned, and cover it with an How, or with Running an other Furrow by the Plow, and that's all till the Weeds begin to overtop the Corne, then they plough over the rest of the field betweene these furrowes where they planted, and so turne in the Weeds, and this is done only a second time about the time of the Summer, they used to begin to hill the Corne with the How, and so the Ground is better loosened then with the How, and the Rootes of the Corne have more Liberty to Spread. So as there is not so much need of that kind of hilling, as is described before, yet they do cast up the Earth about the Corne as well as they can with the Plow, and some will after helpe it a little with the Plow neere the Hill, though others do not regard that way, where any Weeds escape the Plow, a little worke of the how will mend that defect. Where the Ground is not very good, or hath beene long planted and worne out, the Indians used to put two or three of those forementioned Fishes under each place upon which they planted their Corne, or if they had not time before planting, then they would put them afterwards into the Earth by the sides of those Corne hills, and by these meanes had far greater Crops then that ground would otherwise produce, many times more then double, the English have learned this good husbandry of the Indians, and do still use it in

places, where those Mooses come up in greate plenty, or where they are neere the fishing Stages, haveing there the heads and Gurbage of Codfish in greate plenty at no charge, but the fetching. Some also have tried the Dung of their Cattle well Rotted, and putting a little under every place, or hill, and covered it with earth, and the Corne throwne in upon it, have had very good advantage in their Cropps by it; the Fields thus plowed for this Corne after the Cropp is off, are almost as well fitted for English Corne, specially Summer graine (As Peas or Summer Wheate) as if lying fallow they had an ordinary Summer tilth: The Indians and some English also (Especially in good ground or where it is well fished as before) at every hill of Corne will plant a kind of Beans with the Corne (they are like those here called French Beans or turky Beans) and in the Vacant places and betweene the Hills, they will plant Squashes and pumpions, loading the Ground with as much as it will beare; The Stalkes of the Corne serveing instead of poles for the Beans to Climb up, which otherwise must have poles to hang upon. Many English also after the last Weeding their ground springle Turnep-seed between the hills, and so have after Harvest a good crop of turneps in the same Field.

The Stalke of this Corne cut up in due time (before too much dried) and stacked up or laid up in a Barne drie, are good Winter Fodder for Cattle but they usually leave them upon the Ground, where the Cattle in the Winter will feed upon them, and leave onely the hardest part of the Stalkes next the Ground; which are pulled up by hand before the Land be againe planted or sowed: Those Stalkes which are about the Eare, are also good Fodder for Cattle given them for Change sometimes after Hay. The Indian Women



*Deserted section of the Boston Post
Road at Warren*

make Basketts with them, splitting them into narrow parts, weaveing them artificially into severall fashioned Basketts.

This Corne the Indians dress it in severall manner for their food sometimes they boyle it whole, till it swell, and breake, and become tender, and then eate it with their Fish, or Venison in stead of Breade, or onely that without other foode, sometimes they bruise it in a Morter, and then boyle it and make good food of it, bakeing it under the Embers *etc*, but a very Common way of dressing of it is by parching it among the Ashes, which they do so artificially, by putting it amongst the hott Embers, and continually stirring of it that it wilbe thoroughly parched without any burneing, but be very tender, and turned almost quite the inside outward, which wilbe almost white and flowry, this they sift very cleane from the Ashes and then beate it in their wooden Morters with a long Stone for a pestle, into fine meale, which is a constant food amongst them, both at home, and especially when they travell, being putt up into a Bagg for their Journey, being at all times ready, and may be Eaten either drie, or mixed with water; they find it a strengthening and wholesome diet, and is not apt to breed wormes in their Children or others, this is the food which their souldiers Carry with them in time of Warr. The English sometimes for Novelty will procure some of this to be made by the Indian Women, and adding Milke, or Sugar, and Water, will make it much more pleasant to be taken.

The English make very good Breade of the Meale, or flower of it being Ground in Mills, as other Corne, but to make good bread of it there is a different way of ordering of it, from what is used about the Bread of other Graine, for if it be mixed into stiff past, it will not be good as when it is made into a thinner mixture a little stiffer then the Battar for Pancakes, or puddings, and then baked in a very hott oven, standing all day or all Night therein, therefore some use to bake it in panns like puddings. But the most ordinary way is this, the Oven being very hott they have a great Wooden Dish fastened to a long staff, which may hold the quantity of a Pottle, and that being filled, they empty it on an heape in the Oven, upon the bare floore thereof cleane Swept, and so fill the Oven, and usually lay a second laying upon the top of the first, because the first will otherwise be too thinn for the proportion of a Loafe because it will spread in the oven at the first pouring of it in: if they make it not too thinn it will ly in distance like Loaves, onely in some parts where they touch one another will stick together but are easily parted but some will fill the whole floore of the Oven as one intire Body and must then cut it out in greate peices; In just such manner handled it wilbe (if baked enough) of a good darke yellow Colour, but otherwise white which is not so wholesome nor pleasant, as when well baked of a deeper Colour. There is also very good Bread made of it, by mixing half, or a third parte, more or less of Ry or Wheate-Meale, or Flower amongst it, and then they make it up into Loaves, adding Leaven or yeast to it to make it Rise, which may be also added to that other thinner sorte beforementioned.

There is also another sort of Bread, which they used to make before they had Mills, which was in this manner, they beate the Corne in Morters of Wood, first watering of it a little that the huskes may come cleane off by the beateing. When it is beaten they sift the Meale out, and then they Winnow the Course parte, Seperating the loose hulls by the Wind, this Course parte which is seperated from the finer Meale, they boyle it till it be thick like batter, and then Cooleing of it, mix so much of the finer Meale, which was sifted out, as might make it into a past, of which they make Loaves, and bake them as other Bread. This kind of Bread is very well tasted and wholesome, but the best sort of Food which the English make of this Corne is that they call Sampe, which is made in this manner. They first Water the Corne, if with Colde Water a little longer, if with Water a little warmed a shorter time about halfe an hower more or less, as they find it needfull, according to the driness of the Corne, then they either beate it in a Morter as beforementioned but not so small, as for that use of makeing bread of it, but to be about the Biggness of Rice, though some will be a little smaller, and some a little greater, or Grind it gross as neere as they can about the biggness of Rice in handmills or other Mills, out of which they sift the Flower, or Meale very cleane (for whether they beate it or Grinde it there wilbe some little Quantity of Meale amongst it) then they winnow it in the wind, and so seperate the hulls from the rest this is to be boyled or Stued with a gentle Fire, till it be tender, of a fitt consistence, as of Rice so boyled, into which if Milke, or butter be put either with Sugar or without, it is a food very pleasant and wholesome, being easy of Digestion, and is of a nature Divertical and Clensing and hath no Quality of binding the Body, as the Herball supposeth, but rather to keepe it in a fitt temperature, but it must be observed, that it be very well boyled, the longer the better, some will let it be stuing the whole day: after it is Cold it groweth thicker, and it is Eaten commonly by mixing a good Quantity of Milke amongst it. This was the most common diet of the planters, at the first beginning of planting in these parts and is still in use amongst them, and may be taken as well in Sickness as in health, even in feavers and other acute Diseases. A learned Physician that not long since lived in London (Doctor Wilson) had every yeare some Quantity brought over ready beaten, and fitt to be boyled, and did order it to such Patients as he saw cause for it. It was observed that at the beginnings of the Plantations, where this foode was most in use it was very rare that any were troubled with the Stone, and amongst the Indians that Eate no other sorte of Corne but that, The English that have beene most acquainted with them, have beene informed by them, that the disease of the stone is very seldome knowne amongst them. It is accounted also a good meanes against the Scurvie.

The Indians have another sort of Provision out of this Corne, which they call Pondomenast—the English call it sweete Corne, which they prepare in this manner: When the Corne in the Eare is full, whiles it is yet greene it hath then a very sweete tast, this they gather

and boyle a convenient time, and then they drie it, and put it up into Baggs or Basketts, for their store, and so use it as they have occasion boyleing of it againe either by it selfe, or amongst their Fish or Venison or Beavers Flesh, or such as they have, and this they account a principall Dish, either at their ordinary Meales or Feativall times, they boyle it whole, or beaten Gross, as was formerly mentioned concerning their other Corne. These Eares while they are greene and sweete they roast before the fire, or covered with Embers, and so Eate the Corne, picking it off the roasted Eares as they Eate it, therefore at that time of the yeare, when this Corne beginneth to be thus full in the Eare, they have sufficient supply of Food, though there store be done, and their Soldiers doe then most commonly goe out against their Enemyes, because they have this supply both in their Marches if it be in places inhabited, and also in the Fields of those Enemyes against whom they make Warr, but this is observable amongst them, that they do not Cutt downe, or spoile their Enemies Corne more then they gather to Eat.

The English have found out a way to make very good Beere of this Graine which they doe either out of Bread made of it, or by Maulting of it, that way of makeing Beere, of Bread, is onely by makeing the Bread in the manner as before described, and then breake it or Cutt it into greate Lumps, as bigg as a mans Fist or bigger (for it must not be broken small) then they Mash it and proceed every way about brewing of it, as is used in Brewing Beere of Mault, adding hopps to it as to make Beere.

In makeing Mault of it to make it good there is a singular way must be used. The Maulters that make Mault of Barly have used all their skill to make Mault also of this Corne, but cannot bring it the ordinary way to such a perfecion that the whole Graine is Maulted, and tender, and Flowry, as other Mault; Nor will the Beere made of it be well Coloured, but witish, the reason that it doth not come to the perfecion of good Mault in that way of Maulting as of other Graine, is this. It is found by experience, that this Corne before it be fully changed into the nature of Mault, must sprout out both wayes a great length the length of a Finger at least, but if more its better, so as it must put out the Roote as well as the upper sprout, and that it may so do, it is necessary that it be laide upon an heape a convenient time till it doth so sprout, but if it lieth of a sufficient thickness for this purpose, it will quickly heate and moulde, if it be stirred and opened to prevent the too much heating of it, those Sprouts that are begun to shoote out.(if spread thin) cease growing, and consequently the Corne ceaseth to be promoted to that mellow-ness of Mault. If left thick till they grow any length they are so intangled one in the other and so very tender that the least stirring and opening of the heape breaketh those axells of, and every Graine that hath the sprout, so broken ceaseth to grow to any further degree towards the nature of Mault, and soone groweth mouldy if not often stirred and spread thinn. To avoid all these difficulties, and to bring every sound Graine to the full perfecion of good Mault, this way was

tried, and found a sure and perfect way to it. In a Field or Garden or any where that there is loose Earth, take away the top of that Earth two or three Inches for so great a space as may be proportionable to the Quantity of Corne intended to be made into Mault, the Earth may be throwne up halfe one way, and halfe the other, for the more facility of that, and the following labour. Then upon the even Bed, or Floore of Earth where the upper part is so taken off, there lay the Corne intended to be maulted all over, that it may fully cover the Ground, then cover it over with the same Earth, that was taken thence, and then you have no more to doe, till you see all that plott of Ground like a greene Field covered over with the sprouts of the Corne, which within tenn dayes, or a Fortnight, more or less according to the time of yeare wilbe growne greene upwards, and Rooted downwards, and then there is no more to be done but to take it up and shake the Earth from it and drie it. It will by the Insnarlements of the Rootes one with another be like a Matt and hang so together that it may be raised in greate peices and the Earth shaken off from it (which is best to be done in a dry time) and then to make it very cleane, it may be washed and presently dried upon a Hill or in the Sun, or in that Countrey it selfe, spread thinn on a Chamber floore. This way every Graine that was sound, and good will grow and consequently become Mault, and no part of the Graine remains steely (as is alwayes in the other wayes of mauling it) but be mellow, and Flowry and very sweete, and the Beere that is made of this Mault wilbe of a very good browne Colour, and be a pleasant, and wholesome drinke. But because the other way of makeing Beere out of the Bread, as before sett downe, is found to be as well Coloured, and pleasant, and every way as good and very wholesome without any windy Quality, and keepeth better from Sowring then any other Beere of that Corne, therefore that way of Brewing is most in use in that Countrey, that way of Mauling being also yet little knowne."

CHAPTER XII

At Home in Roxbury

FINDING his Dorchester location ill-suited to his needs, Pyncheon sold the northerly portion of the tract, together with the house to Thomas Newbury and the southerly part to the Reverend John Wilson, pastor of the Church at Boston. He then settled at Roxbury, and in the words of the Apostle John Eliot, he continued there until "so many removed from those parts to plant at the Connecticut, he, with others, went thither and planted at a place called Agawam. He married the widow Frances Sanford, a grave matron of the Church at Dorchester, who came with the first company in 1630. His daughter, Ann, married Mr. Henry Smith, son to Mrs. Sanford by a former husband. He was a Godly, wise young man and removed to Agawam with his parents".

Frances Sanford was the widow of Tobias Sanford of Dorchester, England, who died about 1623 leaving his widow and step-son financially independent. On March 30, 1630, they sailed from Plymouth, England, on the ship *Mary and John*, reaching Nantasket on May 30th, two weeks before the arrival of the Winthrop fleet.

In 1634 William Wood said that Roxbury was "a fair and handsome country town, the inhabitants of it being all very rich. The town lay upon the main, so that it was well wooded and watered, having a clear, fresh brook running through the town, called Smelt brook. A quarter of a mile to the north side of the town was another river called Stony river, upon which was built a water mill. Here was good ground for corn and meadow for cattle. Up westward from the town it was somewhat rocky, whence it had the name of Roxbury. The inhabitants had fair houses, store of cattle, impaled corn fields and fruitful gardens. Here was no harbor for ships because the town was seated in the bottom of a shallow bay which was made by the neck of land on which Boston was built, so that they were forced to transport all their goods from the ships in boats from Boston, which was the nearest harbor".

No people enjoyed greater religious advantages than those under the enlightened ministrations of John Eliot the pastor, and Thomas Weld the teacher of the Roxbury Church. Their defense of the principles of popular freedom was an inspiration which in after years must have encouraged Pyncheon in his crusade against the interference of the church in secular affairs.

Pynchon's standing in the community is evidenced by the many public duties with which he was intrusted.

In June, 1632, he was commissioned to make inquiry and take depositions of the creditors of Josiah Plastow,—the same who, in 1631, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, was ordered "to return them eight baskets, be fined £5 and thereafter to be called Josiah, and not Mr. Plastow, as formerly he used to be". Thus the Puritans guarded their wards and their dignity.

The same year he invoked the aid of the court to reconcile a personal grievance, and under its pressure "William Parks did promise that if sergeant Bateman came no more to satisfy Mr. Pynchon, what should be thought meet by two indifferent men, for three leaden weights by him lost and twelve pair of stockings which the said Bateman sold to Mr. Pynchon for good ones, but proved to be bad and moth eaten".

He was annually elected an assistant to the General Court and with one exception he attended every meeting, although, September 7, 1630, he with two others, was "fined a noble apiece for their absence after the time appointed". On August 7, 1632, he was chosen Treasurer of the colony, holding that office until May 14, 1634. The following year, his past accounts seem to have been questioned, but an auditing committee pronounced them correct and relieved him of any suspicion of malfeasance.

In August, 1633, a cart bridge was ordered to be built over Muddy River and another over Stony River at the joint expense of Boston and Roxbury. Pynchon was one of the three appointed to oversee Roxbury's share in the work.

He seems to have had some early connection with the militia of that era, for on September 3, 1664, "sergeant Perkins was chosen ensign of the company at Roxbury and Mr. Pynchon was desired to give him possession thereof". In March, 1635, he was made one of a commission of eleven, deputed to direct the military affairs of the colony.

At the same time he was "intrusted to receive such ordinances, goods and accounts as were sent in the ship *Griffin* by Mr. Keane, as part of Dr. Wilson's gift to the plantation".

In March, 1635, it was required that "the goods and chattels of Mrs. Ann Looman be inventoried by three or four of the freemen of Roxbury, and Mr. Pynchon was desired to appoint the men that should do it".

The soil of Roxbury proving true to its name, he contended that it should not be taxed on the same basis as the fertile meadows of other towns, and in 1635 he flatly refused to pay his assessment and invited the authorities to proceed against him. Notice of his defiance being brought to the attention of the Court, he was fined £5, which in turn he refused to pay. In the end his contentions were sustained by a majority of the Court and the fine was remitted.

During all these years he never lost sight of the objective which brought him to New England,—the fur trade,—though his efforts were

constantly made burdensome by petty regulations effected at the instance of jealous competitors. As early as November 9, 1630, the regulations controlling the price of beaver skins were cancelled and it was "thereafter left free for every man to make the best profit and improvement of it that he could". The following year an attempt was made to monopolize the trade, whereupon, June 14, 1631, "upon the reading of certain articles concerning a general trade of beaver agreed upon by Captain Endicott and divers others, it was ordered that the persons interested therein should hold a meeting before the next court, at such time and place as Captain Endicott should appoint, to decide such differences as were betwixt them and for such as they could not end, to bring them to the next court to be determined".

On June 5, 1632, a tax of twelve pence was levied on every pound of beaver passing through the trader's hands, but as this entailed onerous details of accounting, Pynchon proposed that he pay a flat £25 a year, and on October 3, 1632, his proposition was accepted. This arrangement was continued until the spring of 1635 when the possibilities for securing furs had become so meager that the yearly payment was reduced to £20. Even the previous year furs had become so scarce that the Indians, lacking guns, which the law prohibited their using, were unable to furnish enough skins to supply the requirements of the traders. To meet the emergency, Pynchon joined with Thomas Mayhew in application to the court for special dispensation permitting them to furnish guns and ammunition to certain trusted Indians in their employ and the necessary permission was granted. Immediate protest resulted in a fine of £10 being levied on the offenders; half to be paid by Pynchon and Mayhew and half by the deputies who gave the offensive permit. Payment of the fine was, however, jointly and severally refused and eventually it was remitted.

This action was characteristic of the man. Three times had he been fined by the court. Each time he had refused payment and each time his action had been endorsed, after investigation of the circumstances surrounding the alleged offenses. In this latter instance he was protesting against class discrimination. While the employment of Indians as servants and the supplying to them of guns were both prohibited, these restrictions had been waived in the case of both Governor Winthrop and his son. When Pynchon desired equal privileges, he took them, not in defiance of the law, but by permission of the authorities and he refused to be made the sufferer of the action of those who failed to recognize the equal rights which he came to America to acquire. He recognized the authority of the General Court precisely as he admitted the sovereign rights of his king, but, as with the king so with the courts, he insisted that it was an unjust law that discriminated in favor of a class.

Through all these years the dream of the Great Lake persisted and when it was determined that the Merrimack did not lead from such a source, the thoughts of many turned toward the Connecticut.

In April, 1631, "Wahginnacut, an Indian of the river Connecticut came to Boston with John Sagamore and Jack Straw, an Indian who

Rec'd the 29th of August 1629 of Mr
 William Pyncheon the Summe of
 twenty five poundes for his adventure
 towards Londons plantation in matta-
 chusets Bay In New England in
 America for wch Summ a Division
 of Lands and an adventure of
 Stocke is to be allotted to him
 as to every of the adventurers
 proportionable to each man his
 underwritings shall be concluded
 and agreed upon. I say Rec'd the
 Summ of — of Mr George Harwood Treas.

to
25

Rec'd the 29th of August, 1629 of Mr.
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 and agreed upon. I say Rec'd the
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pr. Mee. George Harwood, Treas.

William Pynchon's Stock Certificate, 1629, and Transcript

had lived in England and had served Sir Walter Raleigh, and was now turned Indian again. He was very desirous to have some English plant in his country and offered to find them corn and eighty skins of beaver yearly. He said that his country was very fertile and wished that there might be two men sent with him to see it. The Governor entertained them at dinner but would send none with them. He discovered later that the Indian was a very treacherous man and at war with the Pekoath. His country was not above five days journey from Boston by land''.

In the summer of 1633 "John Oldham and three with him, went overland to the Connecticut to trade. The sachem used them kindly and gave them some beaver. They brought back some hemp which grew there in abundance and was much better than the English. He accounted it to be one hundred and sixty miles. He lodged at Indian towns all the way''.

That same year the Dutch fortified a compound at what was later known as Dutch Point in Hartford. This was called the House of Good Hope, which is a reminder that it was the Dutch, who, nineteen years later, named the Cape of Good Hope.

Those Dutch people were a kindly folk, abounding with a spirit of neighborly helpfulness and good will. When the Pilgrims came to Plymouth they gave them the benefit of their own experience in trading with the Indians and supplied them with wampum for that purpose. Noting the sandy, sterile soil that the English were forced to contend with, they urged them to remove to the fertile alluvial meadows of the Connecticut valley, which they offered to share with them. When the Puritans came to Boston, they were included in the invitation.

The real interest of the Dutch in the valley was to secure the fur trade and having no agricultural interests there, offered to share with the English. Partly through fear of hostile natives the Boston people declined, but those of Plymouth proceeded alone. Stowing the frame of a house and other necessities aboard a barque, they sailed up the Connecticut, and defying the Dutch, passed the House of Good Hope and at the present Windsor, they erected and fortified a house where they could intercept the natives coming down the river with their furs.

In October, 1633, Governor Winthrop's barque, *Blessing of the Bay*, which, late in August, "was sent to the Connecticut and those parts to trade, returned home''. They reported that the Connecticut "runs so far northward that it runs within a day's journey of a part of the Merrimac, and runs thence north-west so near the Great Lake as allows the Indians to pass their canoes into it overland''.

To the affront offered the Dutch by the establishment of the Plymouth trading house at Windsor, they replied with diplomacy rather than force. Farther north, perhaps by the Agawam, a thousand Indians lived in a stockaded village, of whom Governor Bradford of Plymouth relates an incident. Shorn of its archaic form it reads as follows:

“There was a community of savages who lived in the country, a great way from the Plymouth trading house at Windsor, who were enemies to those Indians who lived about Windsor and of whom the Windsor Indians stood in some fear, they being a war-like people. About a thousand of them had enclosed themselves in a strongly palisaded fort. Three or four Dutchmen went up in the beginning of the winter of 1633-34 to live with them in order to get their trade and persuade them from sending their furs to the English and to make friends with them so that in the spring they would bring all their furs to the House of Good Hope. But the enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visit those Indians with a great sickness and, such was the mortality that of the thousand, over nine hundred and fifty of them died and many of them did rot above ground for want of burial and the Dutchmen almost starved before they could get away, being isolated by the snow and ice. But about February they got away after many difficulties and reached the Windsor trading house where they were kindly received, but after resting for several days, they finally reached home.”

Here Bradford's story ends and here the matter rested for two hundred and fifty years, but recently, when the site of the palisaded fort of the Indians by the Agawam was excavated, the sequel was told, for there were found scores of tobacco pipes with tiny bowls, known as “Fairy pipes”, each bearing initials which have been identified with those of known Dutch pipe makers of that era.

Whatever may have been the nature of the disease, it was most contagious and affected the entire valley.

On January 20, 1634, one “Hall with two others who went to the Connecticut November 3d, returned to Boston, having lost themselves and endured much misery. They reported that the small pox had gone as far as any Indian plantation was known to the west and many natives dead from it, by reason of which they could have no trade”.

The various reports must have appealed to Pynchon as constituting a rather reliable fund of information and made the Great Lake seem very real. The path seemed at last to be getting definitely established and he pondered over it,—

“Till a voice as bad as conscience, rang interminable changes

On one everlasting whisper day and night repeated—so;

Something hidden. Go and find it. Go and look behind the ranges—

Something lost behind the ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go.”

Without exception, the reports from the Connecticut had been most alluring and when the fear of hostile natives thus settled itself, various plans to occupy the valley became manifest.

In May, 1634, “leave was granted to the inhabitants of New Town (Cambridge) to seek out some convenient place for themselves, with promise that it should be confirmed unto them”, but when it appeared that they planned to remove to the Connecticut, the action was rescinded.

However, by May, 1635, pressure on the General Court became too strong to withstand and the inhabitants of both Watertown and Roxbury were given permission "to remove themselves to any place they should think meet, not to prejudice any other plantation, provided they continued under the same government".

From the trading house at Windsor, Jonathan Brewster wrote to his superiors on July 6, 1635: "The Massachusetts men are coming almost daily, some by water and some by land, who are not yet determined where to settle. The first company had well nigh starved for want of victuals had it not been for this house, I being forced to supply twelve men for nine days. Those which came last I entertained the best we could, helping them with canoes and guides. Also I gave their goods house room according to their earnest request and Mr. Pynchon's letter in their behalf, which I send you here enclosed".

With the Indians disposed of by the epidemic, the English fears were quieted and they moved in, in numbers. Saybrook, Wethersfield, Hartford, Windsor and Springfield were promptly established with no consideration for the Dutch. The Pilgrims has out-smarted their Dutch friends, but it remained for those of Boston to double-cross the whole combination. By sheer weight of numbers, those Puritan opportunists drove out not only the Dutch at Hartford, but also their own English compatriots at Windsor and usurped the lands that had been bought from the Indians. In October, 1635, "about sixty men, women and little children went by land towards the Connecticut, with their cows, horses and swine and after a tedious and difficult journey, arrived safe there" and settled at Windsor. Meager accommodation compelled the return of thirteen of them to Boston, where they arrived November 26th. "They had been ten days upon the journey, and had lost one of their company drowned in the ice by the way, and would all have starved, but that they lighted upon an Indian wigwam".

Shortly after the closing of the Court session at Newtowne (Cambridge), on August 5, 1635, Pynchon set sail for the Connecticut in one or more shallops laden with material for a house, together with the mechanism for a corn mill and other requisites for the preliminary work of establishing a new settlement, as well as for his prospective trading activities.

Consideration of the recorded facts make such conclusions inevitable.

From that time in 1630 when he was fined for absence from Court, he was in constant attendance at Court sessions until the autumn of 1635. Except during the winter, these meetings were held monthly, so that during that period he had no opportunity for extensive exploration except in seasons when travel, either overland or by river, was prohibited by ice and snow. Permission to migrate was granted him in May, 1635, and his first absence from Court was in the autumn of that year.

That he had at Springfield "two great shallops which were requisite for the first planting", is shown by the adventurers' agreement of May, 1636. The phrase "requisite for the first planting"

as there used, did not refer to agricultural activities, but was an expression of the period, when a colony was known as a plantation and a colonizer was a planter. Reduced to modern terms, that passage would read,—“two large sailing vessels which were required for the pioneer work of colonization”. A shallop was too pretentious a craft to have been built with limited facilities, from green wood, in a primitive wilderness, and must of necessity have been brought in from the outside.

Early seventeenth century mariners were familiar with a single masted craft carrying a mainsail and a jib. Having no keel or center-board, it relied on leeboards such as are used on sailing canoes. They were a sort of ship's tender, used for landing on shelving beaches and exploring shallow waters. The French called them chaloupes. This became Anglicized as shallops and today has become sloops. The Dutch designation, although spelled s-l-o-e-p, is pronounced almost the same as the English word “sloop”.

In recent years, futile search has been made in the libraries of this country for a contemporary drawing that would identify that type of craft and this search was later extended to The Hague, in Holland. Finally, at the University Library, in Leyden, a drawing was found that seemed to answer all objections. This was submitted for criticism to the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, England, where it received the full approval of Dr. Geoffrey Callendar of the Museum staff and would therefore seem to portray the type of craft used in the settlement of Springfield.

From a knowledge of the customs of the period, there is reason to conclude that Pyncheon carried with him, materials for a house. The planting of new settlements was a business which had certain fixed rules, a knowledge of which was imparted by recognized text books. Pyncheon undoubtedly had access to and was familiar with John Smith's *Advertisment (advice) for the Unexperienced Planters of New England, or the Path-way to Experience to Erect a Plantation*. This book, published in 1631, was the final one completed by that author and was evidently written as an expression of good will to the Massachusetts planters under Governor Winthrop.

When the Plymouth Company sailed for the Connecticut on a similar expedition, “they, having made a small frame of a house ready and having a great new barque, they stowed the frame in the hold and boards to cover and finish it, having nails and all other provision for their use”.

It is a recorded fact that a house was erected at Agawam that fall and it was undoubtedly done in accordance with the customs of the times. Winter was approaching; haste was necessary and there was neither time nor opportunity for unnecessary lumbering.

The house was erected on the south bank of the Agawam River, not far from its mouth; the first house in Massachusetts, west of Watertown, and out of its building came the first lawsuit in western Massachusetts; *Woodcock vs. Cable*, tried before a jury of six in 1638, with verdict for the defendant.

CHAPTER XIII

The Exodus

WITH Pynchon, as chief factor, went John Cable, an experienced seaman and carpenter who was one of the adventurers (promoters) of the project and active in its early operations. As assistant to Cable went John Woodcock a hunter and trapper, a ne'er-do-well and opportunist, who joined the expedition with the hope of being admitted as a member of the town and thereby securing a house lot, "which end he did attain".

After rounding Cape Cod, the shallops sailed up Long Island Sound and entered the Connecticut, passed the Dutch Fort on the present site of Hartford and the house of the Plymouth Company where Windsor now is, and successfully negotiated the rapids above Windsor, later known as the Enfield Rapids.

This was an exploring expedition, pure and simple. The little band of pioneers was on a river almost unknown to them and they had no definite objective, but were following it from its mouth to as near its source as possible in an effort to find that spot best suited to their needs, well knowing that the beaver would be found in greatest abundance in the upper reaches of the river and in its smaller tributaries.

There is ample evidence that, prior to the opening of the canal at Windsor Locks in November 1829, navigation between Hartford and Springfield by substantial craft was common. When, in 1777, General Henry Knox directed that the Revolutionary arsenal be located at Springfield, one of his reasons for the choice was that its situation on the Connecticut River "provided a great saving in transportation from the sound by shifting into different bottoms".

In the summer of 1829 the steamboat *Vermont*, seventy-five feet long and fifteen feet wide and drawing a foot of water, made several Hartford-Springfield trips, carrying a hundred passengers at a time. It required an hour and twenty minutes to ascend the five miles of rapids, but the balance of the trip was at the rate of six miles an hour. Prior to the days of steamboats, freight was carried in flat-bottomed boats, with a sail and a crew of two for poling in calm weather. Fourteen tons was considered a full load. Five days was allowed for the round trip, with a fair wind, but Captain David

Barber, when the water was high and the wind favored, once made the trip from Hartford to the foot of Elm Street in three hours.

After passing the rapids the pioneers continued up the river until they were halted by the great natural barrier where the Holyoke Dam now is. Further progress seemed impossible, but a landing was made and the banks of the upper river explored on foot to ascertain if the country above justified the arduous labor of an attempt to get the shallop over the rapids. After following the river for some distance and finding nothing but a narrow, rocky valley with no tributary streams nor open meadows, and little promise worthy of further efforts the party returned to the shallop. Just below the rapids a trail crossed the river, in shallow water, where "the Indian's common wading place was" and a number of Indians were there engaged in securing their winter supply of fish. Attempts to gather information from them were unavailing, however, as Pynchon's knowledge of the local dialect was insufficient to enable him to convey to them an adequate comprehension of the ends he sought and it was decided to retrace their way. An attempt to ascend the Chicopee River (rapid water) was frustrated by the numerous falls and shoals and an effort to explore the Agawam River was abandoned at the rocky barrier below Mittineague. A return was finally made to that point on the Connecticut, where, within a small compass, it was entered by the Chicopee, the Agawam and the Mill Rivers. There, at a spot called by the natives, Agawam (ground overflowed by water) they found the location most "fitly seated for a beaver trade".

Here were wide fertile meadows and much cleared land, suitable for a plantation. The natives were friendly and eager to further their enterprise, anticipating the coöperation of the English in their attempts to resist the deadly inroads of neighboring Indians. Over these fertile meadows and the adjacent hills, roamed those "ancient people, born with the wind and the rain". A defensive village or fort protected by palisades some fifteen feet high was situated on a commanding bluff south of the Agawam. There they lived a life of lazy indulgence. The rivers teemed with salmon and shad. Currants, strawberries, raspberries, cranberries, walnuts, acorns and chestnuts could be had for the gathering. Hemp for lines and nets grew at their door. Corn, beans, squashes and tobacco were readily grown. But their terrible enemies, the Pequots at the south and the Mohawks on the west, made life a burden to them, and when the English landed on their shores, they received an enthusiastic welcome. Undoubtedly, the weakening of the natives by the plague was a factor in the spirit with which Pynchon was received. That some protection was promised seems evident. Some such bargain, either expressed or implied, must be inferred from the action of the Connecticut Court, when, in assessing the cost of the Pequot War, it levied on the Agawams, in 1637, charges of a fathom of wampum a man.

On their arrival at Agawam, the three explorers encountered a little band of Indians, perhaps eighteen families in all, under the leadership of two natives whom Pynchon designated as "Commucke

and Matanchan, ancient Indians of Agawam." The natives had no comprehension of what was meant by land ownership in the English sense and they had less knowledge of what obligations land sales entailed. But Pynchon was not a free agent. His associates had cautioned that "if any of the savages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their title, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion". Therefore, he assured that the land which they occupied was theirs to dispose of, if they saw fit, and that he proposed to buy it from them. After a careful and exhaustive consideration of the territory, a tentative bargain was made with the Indians, and a site for the prospective town was selected at a point on the west side of the Connecticut and south of the Agawam, which later was known as the "house meadow". On that meadow was erected, not only for temporary shelter for the pioneers, but for traffic with the Indians, that "trucking house" which the laws of the colony decreed should be maintained "in every plantation, whither the Indians may resort to trade".

That house was erected on a broad expanse, lying under a hill the steep banks of which rose sheer on the south to the native village. Kept free from trees and brush by constant burning by the Indians, as well as by the action of the water, the meadow was covered with grass such as to afford good pasturage and which would readily respond to such agricultural treatment as the English expected to bestow on it. "Therefore be careful in the spring", advised John Smith "to mow the swamps and low islands of Auguan where you may have harsh sheer-grass to make hay of, till you can clear ground to make pasture, which will have as good grass as can be grown anywhere".

Pynchon remained to oversee the establishment of his grist mill on that stream in the present Springfield which has ever since borne the name of Mill River, and which was ideal for small mill projects, having a rapid flow and a series of falls. The mill itself was of the type then known as a gig mill, having an upright shaft on which the grinding stones were set. In this horizontal position the stone revolved with the shaft. It was a primitive affair with a capacity of four or five bushels a day, but served the first settlers adequately. As the town grew, a larger mill was established by John Pynchon, on Town Brook, just south of York Street. However, the dam necessary for its operation so raised the water that neighboring meadows were overflowed, resulting in complaints by the adjacent land owners and a suit at law by the widow Margaret Bliss. Attempts at appeasement led to a shortage of power, so that in 1666, a return was made to the "old mill stream", as it was then called, and a third mill was built at approximately the site of the first. This mill continued in operation until it was burned by the Indians in the sack of the town, October 5, 1675.

Leaving his subordinates to prosecute the trade with the Indians through the winter and prepare for the spring planting in order to provide for the influx of settlers expected the following year, Pynchon

returned to Roxbury. He had already delayed so that he had missed the Court session of September first and another was due on October sixth. That session he attended. The winter proved an ordeal for the two scouts. The Connecticut River was frozen over by November fifteenth and on December second and third there came a northeast storm that left the ground knee deep with snow. That winter, the Dorchester migrants who had settled at the present Windsor, lost the greater part of their cattle, valued at £2,000. The people there were so hard-pressed for food that they were forced to subsist on acorns and grain.

Pynchon returned to Roxbury on foot as neither of his associates could be spared to accompany him and he could not navigate a shallop single handed. Such a journey was no especial hardship. The way was actually over a known route, for it was apparent that on following the river down, he soon came to the trail, by that time well known to the English and later called the "Connecticut Path", which from a point near the foot of the rapids, followed a fairly direct course through Woodstock to Boston. Wethersfield and Windsor were then occupied and as this was the natural route between those towns and Boston, the passing and repassing must have been fairly constant with great possibility of companionship on the journey. The way was through a district well populated by natives, enabling travelers to be "lodged at Indian towns all the way".

That Pynchon did not travel by that trail later known as the Bay Path can be most positively affirmed. That there was in early days a bridle-path from Boston to Agawam is true, but the English had no cause to know of it in 1635. The earliest map showing anything approximating such a trail, is the survey of Woodward and Saffery, made in 1642. That John Winthrop, Jr., came over some such route in 1645, is attested by his own journal, but it was then to him an unknown way. Not until 1646 do the Springfield records, most minute in minor details, mention the Bay Path. It was not until 1649 that John Eliot wrote,—“Twenty miles up the river layeth Springfield, where Dr. Moxon is pastor. And this town overland from the Bay layeth eighty or ninety miles south-west and is the roadway to all the towns upon the river”. No reason whatever could have induced Pynchon, traveling alone, to reject the known road of a country in favor of an unknown path through a wilderness.

Pynchon had learned many things since leaving England five years earlier. He knew the ways and means of loading goods where there were adequate wharves and piers; methods of transshipping passengers and merchandise on the open sea; of landing goods on shores where there were neither piers nor wharves. Aware of his need for expert assistance, he contracted with the competent and experienced Isaac Allerton to transport to Agawam the goods and wares of himself and his associates, but at the eleventh hour it was found that Allerton was delayed in returning from a voyage to "the French at Penobscot. His barque was cast upon an island and beat out her keel".

In his extremity, Pynchon appealed to Governor Winthrop for aid. The Governor's thirty ton barque, *Blessing of the Bay*, which was then employed in furthering the operations of the younger Winthrop at Saybrook, had just returned. Though her entire carrying capacity was required for his own affairs, Winthrop was prevailed upon to assist Pynchon to the extent of having the barque transport sixteen tons of his goods. This was but a small part of what was required at Agawam, but as the need was urgent, Pynchon was obliged to accept this moiety, in lieu of something better. It was agreed that the price for freight to Saybrook should be thirty-five shillings a ton, and if on arrival there, the wind should serve, the goods were to be delivered at Newtown (Hartford) or Watertown (Wethersfield), at a further charge equal to the average price for river freighting. In case the wind should not serve and it was found necessary to land the goods at Saybrook, the younger Winthrop was to give them "houseroom", until such time as they could be called for. Pynchon found that of necessity his project was fast growing to be more of a proposition than he had originally contemplated, and realized the imperative need for a warehouse at Saybrook and another at the present Warehouse Point in Connecticut, which thereby acquired its name.

The *Blessing* sailed from Boston on April 27th, but on arrival at Saybrook, the barque proved to be of too deep draft to proceed above that point and the freight was put ashore there. Though sadly delayed by "having so few hands to help", it was necessary to send a shallop down for the urgently needed goods.

In the meantime, Pynchon had retraced his steps over the Connecticut Path, accompanied by his step-son Henry Smith, and Jehu Burr the carpenter, who, with him, had planned and financed the project from its inception. With them went also William Blake, Matthew Mitchell, Thomas Ufford and Edmund Wood; recruits who had more recently committed themselves financially to the enterprise. Driving their horses, cattle and swine, and lodging at Indian villages on the way, they arrived at Agawam early in May after a "tedious and difficult journey of five or six days".

A discouraging state of affairs greeted the colonists. Not only had the Indians proved unexpectedly greedy in regard to their lands but even the English in charge had been quite inefficient. "As for using old traders to trade for you", wrote Pynchon to Winthrop, "it is not the best way for your gain, for they know how to save themselves, but a trusty man that never was a trader will quickly find the way of trading and bring you best profit".

The advent of the new arrivals with their domestic animals further complicated matters. No provision having been made for fencing, the cattle trampled down the corn fields and the hogs rooted them up, although in all their negotiations, the Indians had reserved exclusive rights to their corn fields. The natives also demanded "a great sum to buy their rights in said lands", which was far in excess of what Pynchon had estimated, but no option was had, but to yield. It being

impossible to even consider fencing the vast meadows, there was no alternative but to put the Connecticut River between the Indian planting grounds and the livestock of the English. The natives so resented the damage caused by the trespass that it was necessary to move across the broad Connecticut or move out entirely. Pynchon's neighbors down the river were facing the Pequot War and it was no time to invite trouble. On April 22, 1636, he had asked Winthrop that steps be taken "to inquire and take careful information about the Indians killing two of our men". On June 2d he advised Winthrop from Agawam that he was "preparing to go to the Bay, having settled upon a plantation at Agawam. The best ground at Agawam is so incumbered with Indians that I shall lose half the benefit but am compelled to plant on the opposite side to avoid trespassing thereon".

For generations, local histories and historians have repeated a tale of Pynchon's removal as being because the Indians warned that the house site was subject to inundation during spring floods. There is not the slightest evidence to support such a story and it has no foundation in fact.

CHAPTER XIV

The Founding of Springfield

IN THE midst of anxieties and discouragements, the civil government of Agawam was organized. Though the settlement was primarily designed as a trading post, it was also one of the five outposts on the west side of the Connecticut (Saybrook, Wethersfield, Hartford, Windsor and Springfield), provided as barriers against the Dutch who threatened occupation of the valley. Mere local annoyances and complications could not be allowed to affect the general policy to which Pynchon was committed. On Saturday, May 14, 1636, the eight adventurers convened at Agawam to adopt by-laws for their joint-stock corporation. Before the close of the day, thirteen articles were proposed and discussed and all but one adopted. The session then adjourned over Sunday, to reconvene on Monday, the 16th, when two additional articles were approved. The fourteen items adopted were forthwith agreed to in writing by the eight colonists, "being all of the first adventurers and subscribers for this plantation". These eight men were,—

William Pynchon.
Henry Smith.
Jehu Burr.
John Cable.

William Blake.
Matthew Mitchell.
Thomas Ufford.
Edmund Wood.

Of the fourteen articles of the by-laws, the first was an affirmation of intentions to establish a church. One article related to lumber and eleven to land. One limited the number of inhabitants. This was the most significant item and read as follows,

"We intend that our town shall be composed of forty families, or if we think meet after to alter our purpose, yet not to exceed the number of fifty families, rich and poor. Every inhabitant shall have a proper proportion for a house lot as shall be meet for every one's quality and estate".

Rich and poor; masters and servants; gentlemen and yeomen; peers and commoners,—that is precisely what was envisaged. And so, the choicest lands, the present Main Street from Court Square to the Railroad Arch, were reserved for the gentlemen, while the homelots of the yeomen stretched away southerly to the Mill River.

There is nothing in the record to indicate who was to determine the quality or estate of a citizen or what should be meet for his needs. It is apparent, however, that such decisions would naturally be in the hands of those controlling the majority of stock,—that is, Pynchon and his immediate family and associates. It could not have been otherwise, for such restrictions were in the very blood of the master mind. For generations his forebears had been of the ruling class, and it was not as a mere gesture that he appended the title of “gentleman” to his formal signature. To him, certain divine rights appertained to the person of one born to the purple.

At that period more than one American community was projected by men of wealth and influence who planned strict control of its life, providing a little principality for their own ends. Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut, was sponsored by Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir Arthur Haselrig and other titled persons, who proposed settling there provided the courts would allow for two classes of citizenry. When their plans were frowned upon and set at naught, they lost all interest in the enterprise.

Unlike later settlements, such at Brimfield, Enfield and Suffield, which came into being merely to meet the needs of land hungry farmers, the future Springfield was designed to be an industrial community, based on the fur trade. For its support, a certain amount of agricultural activities were imperative for subsistence, but a self-supporting community was projected, serviced by its own carpenters, builders, brickmakers, masons, coopers, tailors, weavers, smiths and other artisans. The original plans provided the nucleus of such a group, and when “many fell off for fear of the difficulties”, due to the enforced removal to the sterile lands of the east side, a less stout-hearted person would have been utterly discouraged. Of the eight men who signed the organization agreement of May 16, 1636, Pynchon and his son-in-law Henry Smith, alone became permanent settlers. Of the eighteen men who agreed to come or who actually did come, prior to 1638, only Pynchon, Smith and Thomas Horton remained. However, Pynchon’s persuasive powers were so effective that in 1639 there were fourteen inhabitants. In 1641 nineteen were established; in April, 1643, twenty-two. Pynchon was a resourceful person. Through agents in England he secured young men, indentured to serve him for a term of years. Thus Samuel Terry came to Springfield. In 1650 the Terry indenture was assigned to Benjamin Cooley who was obligated to impart to his protege the “art and mystery” of linen weaving. Terry grew to be an important citizen and the ancestor of a large family among whom were the successful Connecticut clockmakers. Through his own scouts, Pynchon drew recruits from other towns. In 1643 he wrote, “the Lord hath added some three or four young men out of the river to us lately”. These were Thomas Cooper, John Harmon and Roger Pritchard, from the “river towns”, Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor. As today a movie-talent scout roams the country in search of new material, so young John Pynchon visited the nearby towns. In 1646 he noted in his father’s ledger,—“Nathaniell Browne came to

my father's the 21 of April at night. He came from Hartford. I agreed with him at Hartford for £4, 15s for six months, viz, the six summer months from the 21 of April to the 22 of October, 1646''.

Nevertheless, admittance as an inhabitant was a privilege not lightly acquired. Only those were admitted who could contribute something of value to the community,—the financial ability to pay others to work; the ownership of merchandise needed by the townsmen; abilities and talents helpful to the growth of the town. Strangers who slipped in were "warned out". In case of doubt concerning a seemingly desirable applicant, a bond was required. Even the sons of such a prominent citizen as Deacon Samuel Chapin were admitted only on these conditions. When, in 1660, Henry Chapin was admitted, the deacon gave a bond of £20 "to secure the town from any charge which may arise", and in 1663 he gave a similar bond when Josiah Chapin became an inhabitant.

About 1643-1645 a determined effort was made to recruit the artisans and tradesmen necessary to make Springfield independent of outside sources of supply, and at that period the population practically doubled. Then arrived John Matthews the cooper, Griffith Jones the tanner, Hugh Parsons the brickmaker. Many other needs were similarly cared for, but even as late as January 8, 1646, George Colton and Miles Morgan were "appointed to do their best to get a smith for the town". Apparently their efforts bore fruit, for later that year a contract was made with "Francis Ball for a shop for a smith". Equal efforts were made to secure a competent weaver; a worker of both wool and linen. Ample raw material was then available, but the skill and equipment to make use of it were lacking. By 1647 flax growing had become so extensive in Springfield that the retting of it in the town brook was judged so "noisome and offensive" that the practice was prohibited. Here were the requirements for the clothing needed by the townsmen, but the skilled hand of the weaver was wanting. Sheep were then few, but when time provided a weaver, Pynchon provided ample flocks. There can be but little doubt that Benjamin Cooley, master weaver, became a member of the community after searching inquiry as to his ability and personality.

Though physical conditions at Wethersfield, Hartford and Windsor were far more alluring than at Springfield, the strict church element dominant there left much to be desired. It was that same rigidity that later led to the secession of the people who founded Hadley in 1659. The benign influence of William Pynchon at Springfield is exemplified in the sermons of Rev. George Moxon. Young John Pynchon, as a lad of fourteen, kept a shorthand record of some of the pastor's teachings. For nearly three hundred years these remained but an unsolved puzzle, but recently they have been entirely decoded and are most illuminating. The texts were from the New Testament; the sermons were of love. "We are in a new country", said Moxon, "and here we must be happy, for if we are not happy ourselves we cannot make others happy". Moxon's God was a God of love, which the

Puritan God was not. Little of hell-fire and damnation emanated from the Springfield pulpit in those early days.

On the east side of the Connecticut, the site selected for the new town was but a narrow spit of land, in length from Round Hill to York Street and in width from the river to the Main Street. On the west

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Pynchon Account of September 23, 1636

was the River and on the other three sides an almost impassable marsh; the remains of a prehistoric bed of the river in an era when the Main street district was an island in fact. East of the marsh, extending to the top of Armory and Crescent hills, was a fairly heavy growth of timber, called the "wood lots". The plain beyond and easterly to the Wilbraham hills was described as being "pine barrens interspersed with unimprovable swamps". The marsh was known as the "hassocky marsh", and was quite wet and covered with hillocks or hummocks of coarse grass. In the old country they used to dig out those hassocks by the roots and after being well dried they were used as kneeling stools in the churches. In time, a framework was made of

wood and stuffed with that same grass, and so our grandmothers got the hassock of the household and the name for it. Scattered about the marsh were sizable ponds. Until modern times, Frost's pond, a favorite skating place of our fathers, covered the area now enclosed by Market and Court streets and Harrison Avenue. The "Laundry pond", in 1875, was at Hillman Street. In the last century it was not unusual to skate from the Town to Brightwood.

Nearly connecting Round Hill and the hill at the junction of Locust and Main streets was a lower hill, a sort of backbone, running the entire length of and parallel to Main Street. It is impossible to determine how high this hill was, but in 1675 the second meeting house was ordered to be built on that hill, and in 1728 the church horse sheds were located at the foot of the hill, so that it must have been of noticeable height. At a parish meeting, May 27, 1749, it was "voted to level the hill where the old meeting house stands, in such manner as shall be proper for the suitable setting of the new meeting house in that place". A vestige of the hill can be seen today in the mound on which the Court House stands and it is even more apparent at Bliss and Howard streets. Further confirmation of its existence is shown in the County Records of October 1, 1832, giving the original lay-out of West State Street as running three hundred seventy-nine feet westward from Main Street to the brow of the hill, thence nine hundred twenty-four feet to the bank of the River. To one familiar with engineering procedure, this breaking of the course indicates a hill too high to see over. This data definitely indicates the location of the highest point though it unfortunately gives no suggestion of the height of the hill.

The Town street was laid out along the edge of the marsh and the bank of the marsh determined the present-day line of Main street. At the south, the street ended at the impassable marsh and turned west to the river with a lane which is now York Street, and at the north it also turned to the river at the lane which is now Cypress Street. A third road was "the way to the Training Place", now Elm Street.

On the west side of Main Street, from Cypress to York, the home lots, some forty in number, were laid out. The majority of these home lots were eight rods broad, from the street to the river, but on the easterly side of the street, each lot owner had a strip of the same width as his house lot, running to the top of the hill. That on the lower ground was a part of the marsh, later known as the wet meadow, with wood lots beyond. Within these enclosed home lots were not only the houses and outbuildings, but orchards and gardens as well. There is ample evidence that the homes of those early settlers were not those log cabins so beloved by poets and painters which actually were unknown in pioneer New England. Log houses were first built in America by the Swedes who came to the Delaware in 1638, but it was many years before knowledge of such construction spread to Massachusetts. The earliest log cabin of which there is any local record was that built by David Morgan for John Pyncheon in 1678. This was at

Round Hill, which had been given to him in 1654 for a sheep pasture and undoubtedly was to house a sheep herder. Springfield carpenters and builders planned and built in the English tradition, the type of houses they had known in the old country. The roofs were thatched, the sides were of weather boarding or wattle-and-daub. Rather complete details of the house built for the first minister in 1639 are of record. It is shown to have been a two and a half story building, with an entrance porch, the second story of the latter being designed for a study. The roof was thatched and the walls were "wattled", that framework being covered with clay with a result not unlike a stucco house in appearance. The rods of the wattling were known as "wales" and the process of covering them with clay was called "daubing the wales". Such construction was well adapted to the mild winters and damp summers of Old England, but here the settlers found that this clay-stucco siding succumbed to the rigors of ice and snow, and for protection they were forced to overlay it with an outside covering of boarding. Continuous winter fires and hot, dry summers constituted a fire hazard that led to the early abandonment of thatched roofs.

Until the coming, about 1645, of Hugh Parsons the brickmaker, chimneys were built after the English manner, in cob-house fashion of round sticks, daubed with clay. The fire terror was ever present. If the household fire became extinguished through neglect, it was customary to send to a neighbor's for glowing embers to rekindle it. During transportation, a fickle wind might carry sparks to a flimsy roof, so it was ordered that no person "should carry fire in the street without a covering". In addition, it was provided that "every householder shall have in readiness about his house a ladder about sixteen rungs or steps, at least, to prevent the damage of fire".

The development of local building construction is plainly shown in known examples of early Springfield. The first church of 1645 had wattle-and-daub sides, but the roof was shingled. Seven years later the outside was clapboarded. The shop built for the village smith in 1646 was "boarded, both roof and sides". The first schoolhouse, built in 1679, had sides of clapboards and a roof of shingles.

Apparently the daubed house persisted for a considerable period for at a hearing in the witchcraft charges against Hugh Parsons on March 17, 1650-51, John Lombard testified "that one day last summer he set a trowel and a stick which he used to hold to his clay when he daubed, on the ground just without his door; after which two Indians came in and presently went away again. When he went out to look for his trowel, there was the stick, but the trowel was gone". Thus the tools of the trade seem to have been in common use at least as late as 1650.

In many New England towns building construction was influenced by an abundance of stone, but at Springfield it was equally influenced by an utter lack of it. The town proper, the meadows west of the Connecticut as well as the high ground east of the town, were all absolutely devoid of stone of any kind. Such was the scarcity that the minister's house built in 1639 had "the sides of the cellar planked".

Evidence of the value placed on stone is shown in the selectmen's order of February 10, 1652-53, which "granted to Rowland Thomas liberty to carry away those stones he hath dugged in Powcowsack river by the end of June, no man to molest him in the mean time".

John Pynchon's account books show numerous payments for stone brought from Small Brook, which was nearly five miles from the town; a tedious and expensive journey with a lumbering oxcart. In time an outcropping ledge of sandstone was found near Benton Street, at a place called the Stone Pit. To make this available, the Middle Causeway (State Street) was extended to it, the extension being known as Stone Pit Road.

There was of course an inexhaustible supply of stone to be had from the river bed and banks at Enfield Rapids, but it was not of a fire-resistant quality, and so did not fill the crying need for material for fireplaces, hearths and chimneys. Moreover, its carriage was a most arduous upstream journey. The very nature of such freight meant heavy weight, which in turn meant heavy scows. Nevertheless, through dire necessity, its use was increasingly resorted to. The return of the Continental Ferry at Springfield for 1778, includes a charge of £84 for bringing up "fourteen boat loads of stone at 120 shillings per load".

As a conclusion to the covenant of May 16, 1636, Pynchon, Smith, Burr, Mitchell and Blake were constituted a committee for "the granting of house lots". So promptly was their task completed that the apportioning must have been a mere formality to give legality to a prior act. Sizable tracts were confirmed to the eight individuals who signed the covenant and to four additional inhabitants. Four of these tracts were adjoining to the mouth of Mill river and eight were in the commercial district of the present city. These latter grants were thus laid out.

The course for a street along the bank of the marsh was first determined,—the Town Street of that era; the Main Street of today.

Lot number one, with its south bound approximately on the modern Court Street, extending from the river to the high ground east of the marsh (Chestnut Street) and having a street frontage of sixteen rods, was assigned to William Blake.

"Next to the lot of William Blake, northward, lay the lot of Thomas Woodford, twelve rods broad and all the marsh before it to the upland".

Both Blake and Woodford defaulted on their obligations and these two lots, being retrieved by the town, eventually became incorporated into the scheme of eight-rod lots allocated to later inhabitants.

Lot number three, twenty rods broad and extending from Harrison Avenue north to beyond Vernon Street, went to Thomas Ufford who did not remain a sufficient time to even build a house. After George Moxon was accepted as pastor of the local church, he acquired the Ufford lot and in 1639 the town built a parsonage on it for his

use and occupancy. On Moxon's return to England with William Pynchon in 1652, the town bought the property from him and it was held for the benefit of the ministry, until sold in 1806 by order of the General Court.

"Next the lot of Thomas Ufford lay the lot of Henry Smith, twenty rods broad and all the marsh abutting at the end and running to the upland on the other side". The north line of this lot was at the south line of Bridge street. Soon after his step-father's return to England in 1652, Smith followed him there and in 1654 this property was bought by Thomas Cooper who was killed by the Indians in 1675, upon their assault on the town during King Philip's War.

Lot number five was granted to Jehu Burr, who remained a resident for barely five years. With his kinsman John Cable, he became discouraged with the local situation and together they removed permanently to Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1641. In 1640 Elizur Holyoke had come to Springfield, and marrying Pynchon's daughter Mary, he acquired this property, extending from Bridge to Worthington streets. It continued fairly intact until the laying out of Worthington street in 1837.

Next north of the Burr lot was that of William Pynchon, from the present Worthington Street to Lyman. Prior to Pynchon's departure in 1652, he conveyed the property to his son John, in whose ownership it remained until the subsequent century.

Lot number seven, from Lyman Street to the railroad, was that of John Cable. On his removal to Fairfield, Connecticut, with Jehu Burr in 1641, the town paid him £40 for his lot and buildings, reselling the property in 1643 to Thomas Cooper, who had then recently arrived from Windsor, Connecticut.

The last of these lots, extending from the railroad to Liberty Street, went to John Reader, who, however, never became a resident. The lot reverted to the town, eventually becoming a portion of a grant to Miles Morgan.

"The lots of Mr. Matthew Mitchell, Samuel Butterfield, Edmund Wood and Jonas Wood were ordered to lie adjoining to Mill brook, the whole being twenty-five acres, three of the lots on the great river and the fourth on the other side of the small river".

Samuel Butterfield was related by marriage to Matthew Mitchell and it is quite probable that Edmund and Jonas Wood also were kinsmen. Why these four should have chosen such a remote section for their habitation is inconceivable, and it can hardly be presumed that it would have been an involuntary choice. In the agreement itself, William Pynchon's name appears seven times, each time being preceded by the title of "Mr." Matthew Mitchell's name appears twice and in both cases his name is also preceded by that same title, while none of the other individuals is thus distinguished. This abbreviation of "Master" indicates that the person to whom it was applied very probably held a degree of Master of Arts and possibly was a clergyman.

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In any event, the quartet never occupied the land allotted to them. In October of that yer, 1636, "old man Mitchell" and Butterfield were active about the new settlement at Saybrook, Connecticut. "Five men of Saybrook went up the river about four miles to fetch hay from a meadow on the east side. Some Pequots set upon the men and one they took; the brother of Mr. Mitchell who was the minister of Cambridge, and roasted him alive. He was a Godly young man called Butterfield, whereupon the meadow was named Butterfield Meadow".

The granting of twenty and thirty rod house lots on that May day in 1636 marked the ultimate of such largess. The adventurous "gentlemen" were at that time largely provided for and no additional ones came clamoring for admittance. Dreams of empire, of manor houses and baronial halls, faded away in the face of stern reality.

Grandiose schemes had been in the making in New England. At Saybrook had been built a "great hall" enclosed by a defensive barrier. The importation there of "ironwork for two draw bridges", including material for a portcullis suggests visions of moated castles.

The actual prospect was uninviting. A sordid, squalid outlook, with cattle, swine and naked savages very much in the foreground. Disillusioned, the remaining ground in the town plot (Harrison Avenue to York Street) was divided into lots eight rods wide, "meet for the quality and estate" of the husbandmen and artisans who were to provide the life blood of the town. But it was nearly a decade before those plots were fully occupied.

Following the organization of the town and the division of the house lots, Pyncheon remained for some two weeks and then proceeded to Roxbury, accompanied by Henry Smith. On the seventeenth of the previous March, in preparation for his removal to the Connecticut, he had sold to the younger Winthrop, the greater part of the contents of his Roxbury warehouse. As this merchandise well illustrates the type of wares with which the English allured the Indian trappers, it is of interest to note just what this comprised. Included were fifteen bolts of woven cloth, with a total of 509 yards at an average price of nearly eight shillings a yard, which came to £197. In addition were seven items commonly sought by the natives. These were,—

2 dozen looking glasses	0	4	8
3 one quart pots	0	12	0
4 dozen Jews harps	0	4	0
4 dozen steel awl blades.....	0	5	4
1 dozen porringers	0	10	6
1 dozen occomy spoons	0	6	6
15 large hoes	1	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£3	13	0

Here was a grand total of a bit more than £200, with a present day value of perhaps \$5,000 to \$10,000. On April 22d at Roxbury, Pyncheon had sold to Winthrop, one hundred forty-three yards

more of cloth, and he now consigned to him at Saybrook, two hundred twenty-five yards additional and accepted from him, twenty-one sheep for the new plantation. As these were uniformly priced at £3 each, it would appear that they were all adult animals, probably twenty ewes and one ram.

For transportation of a final twenty-four tons of his goods to the Connecticut, Pynchon chartered the barque *Bachelor*, and with recollections of his previous disappointing experience with the *Blessing*, he conditioned with her skipper that the cargo should be discharged at Watertown (Wethersfield), to which port Lieutenant Edward Gibbons "confidently affirmed she might go, there being water enough" for a vessel of her draft. On the *Bachelor* also sailed Pynchon's three daughters and their maid, accompanied by Ann Pynchon's husband Henry Smith. For their passage Pynchon paid an additional ten shillings each.

Pynchon's letters and accounts afford surprisingly complete evidence as to his movements during that period. In recent years, a bit of confirmatory evidence has become available that should be known by historians. William S. Elwell, known as the Crescent Hill Artist, who died in Springfield in 1881, was a painter by vocation and an autograph collector by avocation. There came into his possession an account book kept by Pynchon in the earliest days of the town. In it, various individuals were debited for their share of the cost of the freight transported by the *Blessing* and the *Bachelor*.

In the customary Pynchon manner, the little book was also used for the recording of indentures and similar covenants. When the book came into Elwell's hand he removed one sheet of four pages, because on one of these there was an agreement which included the signatures of various local men prominent at the time and for these autographs, Elwell kept the four page fragment, burning the rest as wholly lacking in interest. Only the research student can realize what was thus denied to historians. After Elwell's death, the four page sheet became the property of Ernest Newton Bagg, a Springfield journalist. Being unable to decipher it, he asked this writer to supply a typescript, granting in return, permission to photograph the original. Mr. Bagg later became helplessly crippled and while smoking at his desk, accidentally set fire to its contents. As a result, all that remains of William Pynchon's account book of 1636, are the four photographs here reproduced for the benefit of posterity.

One especial reason for Pynchon's visit to the Bay that summer of 1636 was his realization that some measures must be taken for adjusting relations between the settlers and the natives before they became more strained. It was difficult for him to argue or explain, being handicapped by a lack of precise knowledge of the local dialect, which differed sufficiently from that of the Indians about Massachusetts Bay, with whose language he was familiar, as to make it impossible for him to negotiate efficiently. On this occasion he arranged with Ahaughton, a Massachusetts Bay Indian, recognized by the courts as

a competent interpreter, to accompany him to the Connecticut and assist in his negotiations.

Early in July, having completely liquidated his Roxbury affairs, Pynchon once more made his way over the Connecticut Path, accompanied by Ahaughton, together with John Allen, John Cownes, Richard Everett, Joseph Parsons and Faithful Thayler.

Though there is no positive evidence of the fact, by a process of elimination it may be safely concluded that with him also went his wife and his son John, then ten years old. This would have been no especial hardship, for women of that day were accustomed to long journeys in the saddle and the lad was fully competent to travel on his own horse or on the pillion of an older rider. The bridle path was then well known and the group was of sufficient size to cope with any ordinary hazards.

CHAPTER XV

The Bay Path Myth

NO ARM-CHAIR student can accurately visualize the ways of the people of the wilds. To understand primitive folk one must have lived in the open, preferably at an age prior to that when opinions have been influenced by extraneous reading. One expects to rely on opinions expressed in weighty tomes and especially do young people accept the statements of their elders. This writer speaks feelingly and in great humiliation, for in his younger days, with youthful enthusiasm, he brought together all available printed matter relating to Indian trails, and produced a map showing "Indian Trails About Springfield" that resembled a spider's web. Not until he later acquired first-hand information on the subject, did he realize how erroneous was the foundation on which he had built. Since then he has had an acute understanding of the importance of positive evidence, either physical or documentary.

Probably Josiah G. Holland, author of the *History of Western Massachusetts* (1855), is more than any one else responsible for the survival of the Bay Path myth, and its consequent intrusion into all local histories of that section. He was a journalist and novelist; author of the novel *Bay Path*, who dispensed his so-called history in a popular form which gave it wide circulation and long life, but his tales were based on relations of the "oldest inhabitant" rather than on documentary evidence, and do not agree with recorded facts.

At a later period Holland was seconded by other unqualified writers at whose hands a little learning became a particularly vicious thing. Facts were distorted to support prejudiced theories and to bring fame to the "old home town", but the findings do not conform to the unabridged recorded facts. Unfortunately, however, their conclusions are considered authoritative by the unknowing and will probably so continue. Competent scholars have also been misled, which has added to the confusion.

The theories developed by these writers, are based on the wholly incorrect assumption that in prehistoric days the various sections of the country were connected by deep-rutted foot paths, called Indian trails and that these trails were adopted by the settlers, eventually becoming roads suitable for wheeled vehicles. Actually, the Indians were not dependent on any definite route for their travels, the country

being so open that they could readily make their way from landmark to landmark. Because it was of utmost importance that their bow strings be kept dry, they avoided the swimming of rivers, but forded them wherever there was shallow water below a fall. Hence, there came to be certain points where their ways converged, and such meeting places are pictured by romanticists as the locale of native council fires and similar balderdash. One such crossing was at Sconungannuck, now Chicopee Falls. Another was below the rapids of the Connecticut where Willimansett now is. The convenience of such fordways was so apparent to the English that their roads were laid out to take advantage of them. Only to that extent did the settlers take over from the Indians.

The spit of land that became the site of Springfield had nothing of value or interest to the natives and there was most certainly no reason why they should provide a trail to it.

The word "trail" is not found in seventeenth century New England records, but the word "path" appears frequently. At Springfield was the Bay Path from Springfield to Boston; the Pequot Path to New London; the Mohegan Path to Norwich; and the New England Path from Albany to Springfield. All of these were developed by the English and each was a bridle path suitable for the traveler on horseback, as well as for transporting baggage and freight by pack horse. Such a path was developed in 1658 for the sole purpose of transporting graphite by pack horse from the Winthrop mine at Sturbridge to the waterside at Windsor.

Charles Knowles Bolton, in *Terra Nova* (1933, page 144), said that "America was a spider's web of Indian trails. The footway was not much over twelve inches wide and worn to a depth of five or ten inches". Bolton cited as his authority, *Development of Early Emigrant Trails* (1933), by Marcus W. Lewis, who said that "for generations untold before the settlements at Plymouth and Boston, the Indians followed certain trails which were later adopted by the white men for their early roads. Many predecessors of Massasoit and King Philip had led their tribes along these trails on warlike expeditions or on annual trips to lakes and ocean to secure their supplies of fish and game, and consequently such paths, worn by the feet of countless braves and their Indian ponies, were well defined, often being depressed a foot or two below the adjoining ground. Many may be followed today, sometimes in comfort by automobile, but more often with jolting and shaking over country roads".

It should be noted that though Bolton limited the depth of the trails to "five or ten inches", his authority is more generous, allowing "a foot or two".

Though Lewis makes no reference to his source and uses no quotation marks, his was a verbatim extract from *The Turnpikes of New England* (1919, page 24). Mr. Lewis also cited Archer B. Hulbert, who, on pages 15-17 of *The Paths of Inland Commerce* (1920), said that "upon the valleys of the Connecticut and Hudson Rivers, con-

verged the two deeply worn pathways, the Bay Path and the Connecticut Path. By way of Westfield River, which joins the Connecticut at Springfield, the Bay Path surmounted the Berkshires and united Massachusetts to the upper Hudson Valley near Fort Orange, now Albany. Upon Fort Orange, converged the score of land and water pathways of the fur trade of our North. These Indian trade routes were slowly widened into colonial roads. But from the day when the canoe and the keel boat floated their bulky cargoes of pelts or the heavy laden pony trudged the trail, the routes of trade have been little or nothing altered".

Thus, we are asked to believe that over New England was a network of ditches, little more than a foot wide and up to two feet deep, which is more than knee deep. We are told that these were "depressed a foot or more below the adjoining ground" and that such depression was made "by the feet of countless braves and their Indian ponies". Yet any intelligent literate person must be aware that, prior to the arrival of the Pilgrims and the Puritans, no New England Indian ever saw a horse, for horses were not indigenous to America and were unknown here until they were introduced from Spain. Yet a scholarly historian of Mr. Bolton's attainments, and an engineer capable of such precise work as Major Wood did on his *Turnpikes* allow themselves to be led astray by fantastic tales of the impossible.

Imagine a ditch one hundred miles long, a foot wide and knee deep, connecting Boston Bay with the Connecticut Valley. Should such a cutting be made today, contending with great boulders and glacial detritus scattered over and under ground, it would be an engineering feat feasible only with the employment of high powered machines and the free use of explosives. Are we to conclude that the depression actually was made by the weight of the body, or that the dirt, stones and roots were thrown out by the bare feet? For it would have been literally by the bare feet, as moccasins were unknown to the Indians until they fashioned them in imitation of English shoes.



(Photo by Harry A. Wright, 1936)

The modern historian simply cannot comprehend the Indian who is pictured as a fantastic biped, with the combined skill of an acrobat, a contortionist and a Houdini. How, otherwise, could he have negotiated such a trail? His knees would have scraped on both sides of the foot-wide ditch. He would have tripped over his own feet as well as roots growing into the ditch, which in the spring would have been filled with water, in the autumn with dead leaves and in winter with snow and ice.

If such a network of trails ever existed, would not some evidence of them still remain? It can hardly be thought that some kind Providence filled in these thousands of miles of ditches, leaving not a trace. And surely, mere man could never have done it.

A welcome breath of sanity is to be found in *Natural History* of October, 1943. Donald Culross Peattie, writing of the buffalo, said that "by 1810 the bison was pushed over the Mississippi and there was no trace of them in the eastern forests except the trails they made walking in single file. Daniel Boone's wilderness road followed in part a buffalo path from Tennessee to the salt licks of Kentucky. Many a city stands where it is today because the bison beat an ancient roadway there".

One who has ever frequented the great north woods finds this very suggestive, bringing memories of deer-runs from lily-padded ponds to the deep forest. French-Canadian guides, half-breeds and novices find them of great convenience in getting from point to point. They fail to measure up to the dimensions of the Indian trails described here, being but a few inches deep and seldom a foot wide, but stories grow with the telling. A gullible neophyte, the butt of a camp joke, might be readily convinced that such trails of deer and moose were made by the Indians. Many an initiate has shivered with terror when told on a dark and dismal night, that the eerie call of the loon was that of a wildcat. Undoubtedly the present confusion emanated from some similar incident. Such is the only sensible conclusion that can be drawn from the evidence.

It is of record, that there was at one time a road known as the Bay Path connecting Springfield and Boston, but there is no evidence that it was known or used by the English at the time of the exodus to the Connecticut Valley in 1635-36. The way in common use at that period was the "Connecticut Path" which, in part, is well shown on the *Woodward and Saffery* map of 1642.

Leaving Boston, via Cambridge, this way followed the north bank of the Charles River to Cochituate Pond, South Framingham, Hopkinton, Grafton and Dudley to Woodstock, Connecticut, which on the 1642 map is the point near the Monoways River designated as "4 wigwams".

From that point it went west to the Connecticut River as shown on the map, to the crossing, where as Woodward and Saffery noted was "the house of the widow Gibbs on the east side, and that of John Bissell on the west".

This is the path over which the Windsor people migrated in the autumn of 1635, and the route of Thomas Hooker's company to Hartford in June, 1636. It was the road of which Governor Winthrop spoke, in August, 1637, when he said,—“Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, came with Mr. Wilson, from Connecticut, by Providence, and the same day, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pincheon and about twelve more came the ordinary way (*i. e.*, the usual way) by land”. Winthrop's phrase is significant. So customary was it to travel between Boston and the Connecticut Valley by water, that when he thus spoke of the “usual route”, it was necessary for him to qualify his statement by explaining that he referred to an overland route.

The 1642 map clearly shows the route referred to by Winthrop, and this is not the only instance when he used this qualifying phrase. In October, 1635, he noted that “about sixty men, women and little children went by land toward the Connecticut”. In January, 1636, he said,—“This month one went by land to Connecticut and returned safe”.

It was not until November, 1646, that the Bay Path was mentioned in the Springfield town records, and it was in February 1647 that it was recorded that among “the special works to be attended to this year are a horse way over the meadow to the Bay Path”. However, owing to difficulties in crossing the marsh east of the Town Street, the road was not actually built until the autumn of 1648, or the spring of 1649, when one of corduroy construction was built by various individuals who were allowed to operate it as a toll road. The old foundation was so efficiently installed that remnants of it are there today. It consisted of large logs, trunks of huge trees laid crosswise; successive layers providing a foundation which is five or six feet below the present pavement. Until this “horse way” (now State Street) was constructed, it would have been impossible for a conveyance of any kind to get from the Bay Path to the town plot.

Woodward and Saffery made their map in connection with the running of the boundry line between Massachusetts and Connecticut. The latitude of the eastern end they knew. They followed the Connecticut Path to the Connecticut River and then went up the river until they were in the same latitude as at their starting point. They then continued on up the river to Springfield, in order to determine its latitude, so as to designate its proper position on the map, in relation to the boundry line. From Springfield, they went back to Boston by compass line, the position of Boston being well established and known to them, and the way which they marked out roughly resembled the course of the Bay Path of a later date.

This way, however, did not become of immediate use. It was not until 1646 that Winthrop's *Journal* noted, that a new way had been found which left the Connecticut Path at Weston and ran through the present Sudbury, West Brookfield and Warren to Springfield; although in 1645, John Winthrop, Jr., came over some such route to Springfield, an account of which he recorded in a Latin journal.

Yet it was even then such a blind path that he lost his way, and it was only with the help of passing Indians that he finally reached Springfield.

There is ample evidence that William Pynchon went from Roxbury to Springfield by water. It is a recorded fact that he shipped forty tons of freight,—the utensils, materials and furniture of himself and his associates,—by sea-going vessels to the Connecticut and that he brought this freight up the river in shallops which he had provided for that purpose. There exists a document in Pynchon's handwriting which shows that his three daughters, with their maid and his son-in-law, Henry Smith, went by water and that John Winthrop, Jr., received ten shillings each for their passage.

It is inconceivable that the Springfield pioneers should have emigrated in any other way. The Winthrop base at Saybrook was well established at that time, and Pynchon had there a warehouse with a store of trading goods, under charge of Stephen Winthrop. Adequate barques made frequent journeys between Boston and Saybrook, and up the river, at least to Wethersfield. At Springfield, Pynchon's scouts, John Cable and John Woodcock, were well established in their house on the Agawam meadows, where they had available two light-draft sailing vessels.

It is true that the Windsor and Hartford settlers went by land in 1635 and 1636, but this was probably because of their live stock, as well as from motives of economy. The Windsor party comprised sixty people,—the Hartford settlers were a hundred or more. On the other hand, Pynchon had with him less than ten percent of that number, all well-to-do men. Yet they paid for the freight of their goods, eighty-two pounds; over four hundred dollars. Small wonder that a party ten times the size of his would attempt the journey rather than incur a freight charge of ten times that sum; which would have been over four thousand dollars, exclusive of their live stock.

The statement of Roger Williams, so often quoted in connection with the Bay Path, is perfectly true,—“Springfield, overland from the Bay layeth eighty or ninety miles southwest, and is the road way to all the towns upon this river and those that lie more southward.” But that statement was made in 1650, fourteen years after Hooker and Pynchon went to the Connecticut. During that interval the Bay Path was established and became the common road from Boston to the west.

In the *Colonial History of Hartford*, William DeLoss Love, relying solely on the unsupported findings of an unqualified antiquarian, expressed the opinion that Hooker's journey from Boston to Hartford was via Springfield, the route from Springfield to Hartford coinciding with that of another Indian trail, but his arguments do not take the facts into consideration.

On January 8, 1645-46, Thomas Merrick and Joseph Parsons were delegated to “make a way from the Mill river to the Longmeadow”, the settlement of which was then just beginning. Prior to that time,

the river was the common highway from Springfield to the Longmeadow, the early settlement being on the meadows by the river, and not on the hill where the present town is. That road, however, ended at Longmeadow and it was only gradually extended to Enfield as that section became settled and a road became necessary. In 1650 Springfield expended ten pounds to further extend the "cartway to the foot of the falls" at Warehouse Point, so as to avoid the bringing up of freight by water, over the rapids and shoals.

In 1664 that entire section of road was established as a county highway, "from the lower end of Springfield to Longmeadow gate, and from the lower end of said meadow into Fresh Water River (Enfield) so called and from thence to Namerick Brook where it will best suit for a bridge and from thence to the dividing line between the colonies".

The only existing piece of evidence that conflicts with the foregoing is an entry of February 21, 1642, in the Windsor town records, which reads as follows:

"The way betwixt Henry Styles and John Egglestones, their homelots, down to the great river, shall be allowed for a public highway for horse and drove to Agawam and the Bay".

But that was the year of the *Woodward and Saffery* map, and six years after the coming of Hooker and Pynchon. It is possible, that in those intervening years some rough horse path may have been blazed out from Windsor to Springfield, but there was certainly no "cartway" then, otherwise the town of Springfield would not have expended ten pounds, eight years later, for the building of such a cartway.

The whole proposition is too absurd for serious consideration. In June, 1636, Springfield was an established community. Hooker, formerly of the church of Chelmsford, England, Pynchon's home town, was travelling with a wife in a condition so frail that it was necessary to transport her in a litter. It is inconceivable that Pynchon would not have offered the use of his shallops to convey the party to Hartford, or that such an offer would have been rejected in favor of a path through an unknown wilderness. And it is equally unlikely that, if such a noted and revered personage as Thomas Hooker passed through Springfield in its early days, the fact would not have been mentioned in contemporary letters, so full of minor details as they were.

Probably no person now living has made a more intelligent and comprehensive study of the Bay Path than has William R. Carlton of Springfield. His analysis of the journal of an actual traveler over the route in 1645, follows this chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

An Overland Journey in 1645

A TRAVEL DIARY OF JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

By William R. Carlton

GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP, JR., of Connecticut, was an exceptional man, a man of great activity, brilliant mind, and commanding personality. In 1631 he followed his father's footsteps to the New World, and was one of the first settlers at Ipswich. In 1634, upon his return from a trip to England, he was made governor for a year of the part of Connecticut adjacent to the river of that name, and he helped form the settlement at Saybrook. In 1641-1643 he was in England again, and upon his return this time established the iron works at Lynn and Braintree. He kept up a continual search for various other minerals and metals, and even acquired an extensive tract of land in Massachusetts containing graphite, which he hoped to produce profitably. He was a student of medicine and a member of the Royal Society.

In 1640 Winthrop acquired the ownership of Fishers Island, which lies south of Mystic, Connecticut, and about six miles southeast from New London. In the early part of 1645, with the intention of leaving Massachusetts and promoting the Connecticut settlements, he sold a hundred acres of his property at Ipswich, and on August 20 he disposed of his remaining possessions there. During the summer Winthrop had spent some time at his island, and by the fall the idea of a settlement on the mainland near by had taken definite shape. The mouth of the Pequot—now the Thames—River offered a fine harbor, and the west shore of the river, known to the Indians as Nameaug and to us as New London, doubtless looked good to the English. At any rate, in November of 1645 Winthrop made a trip overland to survey this locality again. He started from Boston, visited Springfield, Hartford, and Saybrook, and then followed the Connecticut shore eastward to Nameaug, where he explored the countryside, and then continued through Providence and Braintree to Boston.

The principal happenings of this journey Winthrop wrote down in a notebook, about three-fourths in Latin. The diary, now in the Yale University Library covers eight pages, written in a clear hand, appar-

ently with several different pens, for the script is in some places light, in others heavy. For many years this little document lay unnoticed in the mass of early Winthrop papers. A transcription of the Latin appeared in Volume VIII of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, together with a rough sketch of its story, but no translation accompanied the Latin transcription. At various times certain parts of the diary have been translated, but despite its importance the whole has never been reduced to understandable English, nor have the events of the journey been related in the light of our present knowledge of the country through which Winthrop passed.

For this study, the printed Latin transcription has first been checked with the original text, and then the Latin of the diary itself painstakingly translated. The original abbreviates many words and almost entirely lacks capitals. In this copy the words are given in full and capitals appear where present usage requires them.

The record starts with the year "1645" printed in fairly large figures at the top of the first page. Below, opposite the opening entry, is the month and day:

"November 11. Tuesday. We began our journey at 3 o'clock and reached Sudbury [the present Wayland] within an hour or two after sunset.

"November 12. Wednesday. Early in the morning cloudy and calm. Soon snow fell; it stopped after two hours and the rest of the day was pleasant with a west wind. The snow began to melt. We spent the night about two miles to the east of the large river Nipnet."

On his first afternoon Winthrop covered about fifteen miles, and on the second day about twenty, following the regular southwestward route of early journeys and migrations to the Connecticut valley. The woods through which he traveled throughout his trip were not dense thickets except in the swampy areas, because the Indians burned over most of this territory each year, usually in the latter part of autumn, for the purpose of keeping the woods open, facilitating travel, and making the observation of an approaching enemy easier.

"And whereas it is generally conceived, that the woods grow so thicke, that there is no more cleare ground than is hewed out by the labour of man; is nothing so; in many places divers Acres being cleare, so that one may ride a hunting in most places of the land, if he will venture himself for being lost: there is no underwood saving in swamps and low grounds that are wet, . . . for it being the custom of the Indians to burne the woods in November, when the grasse is withered, and leaves dried, it consumes all the underwood, and rubbish, which otherwise would overgrow the Country, making it impassable, * * *" William Wood, *New England's Prospect*—1634.

The Nipnet or Blackstone River does not attain the size of a "large" river until some place below where the various tributaries

join to form it. In all probability, Winthrop approached it a bit south of the present Farnumsville, Massachusetts. Two miles east of this point on the westward trail now referred to as the Connecticut Path there probably was an Indian town or location known then or later as Hassanamesit, or Hassanimisco, subsequently one of the Reverend John Eliot's praying towns, and said to have been the residence of the chief of the Nipmucks. Stopping for the night at the Hassanamesit location had many advantages. Travelers of this period almost always planned to stop at English or Indian habitations to simplify the food problem of both man and horse. The Indians were very friendly at the time of this journey.

Winthrop crossed the Blackstone on the thirteenth, probably at the ford so clearly marked on the map of *Woodward and Saffrey*, made in 1642, just south of a decided turn in the river's course, northwest of Farnumsville.

"November 13. Cloudy day, wind N.W., cold. We spent the night in the western part of a field where many trees had recently been blown down before. During the night it froze, but, finding a suitable place and starting a blazing fire, spreading branches and grass for beds and covering ourselves over with nets filled with grass, we slept quite comfortably.

"November 14. Partly cloudy and calm. We crossed over Lake Squabage and, not finding the path by which the soldiers formerly crossed over to Monhegan, we made straight for Agawam [Springfield], wishing to go via Tantiusques to the graphite mine and thence to Monhegan. We spent the night near a stream where the Indians left us a part of a hut which served us very well against the melting snow, which had fallen during the first part of the night and against the cold. After 3 or 4 hours it stopped snowing and the night was clear and cold. Before nightfall an Indian came up who told us about an Indian hut not far from there. I bought some venison from him. I sent him to the Indians asking that they bring some grain for my horse, which they did without delay. For a small mirror and two ounces of tobacco they gave me about half a peck, which served very well for my horse."

Winthrop does not give his route or stopping place for the thirteenth, but after digesting his entry for the fourteenth we are able to follow him. The mention of "Lake Squabage" on the fourteenth gives the first real difficulty in pursuing his tracks, for there is no known lake of that name. The thought that he may have meant Quabaug Lake, in the present Brookfield, is obviously wrong, as a glance at the map will show. We must bear in mind that Winthrop probably did not know, or care too much about, the Indian names of the ponds he passed on this trip through land wilder and less known than any part of the United States is today. The only lake anywhere near his whereabouts which could literally have been "crossed over" is Chaubunagungamaug, in the present town of Webster. This lake is made up of three parts, divided by an upper narrows and a lower

narrows; in other words, points of land extending from the eastern and western shores in two places nearly divide the lake into three bodies of water. The southern narrows are deep, and the points are too rugged for a fordway, whereas the shallow water at the northern narrows and the contour of the two points made an easy crossing place. Old residents, as well as authentic records, tell that the "narrows" were originally hardly more than a shallow, narrow brook six to ten feet wide, and were used as a ford from earliest



The Original "One-Hoss Shay" in the Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield

days. The channel has since been dredged and deepened, and the level of the whole lake raised by power dams.

A suggestion by Mrs. Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, authority on New England Indian names, seems to substantiate the inference that this was Winthrop's most likely crossing place. *Squabage*, she points out, might mean "watching place," a description which very aptly applies to the upper narrows. The Indian name, *Chaubunagungamaug*, or *Chaubunakungamaug*, furthermore, means "boundary fishing-place," and the lake was probably roughly a part of the boundary of the Nipmuck territory.

Winthrop's remark that, once across, failing to find the "path by which the soldiers formerly crossed over," he consequently "made straight for Agawam," is of interest since it has a bearing upon differences of opinion regarding the routes which early travelers followed to Agawam and to Hartford. In this controversy, some maintain that the better and more direct way to the Connecticut River

valley was the Connecticut Path, described as crossing the Quinnebaug River by a ford at Maanexit, near Fabyan, Connecticut, and continuing to Wabaquassit (Woodstock), and thence to Windsor or Hartford; while others believe that the route went to the fishing grounds at the falls of the Chicopee River in present Ludlow and Chicopee and thence down the river.

Winthrop's graphite mine was located in the present Southbridge, apparently at, or not far distant from, an indefinite place which he calls Tantiusques, and has been worked intermittently during the past 290 years. Winthrop evidently knew that if he continued on the trail to Agawam he would pass a few miles northward of it, and it was his evident intention to turn south at some point and visit it. The Agawam trail continued westward and kept well north of the Quinnebaug River until it traversed the approximate locations of the present Southbridge, Sturbridge, and Fiskdale, where it approached the river-side, at times closely. If we are to assume that on this day Winthrop traveled about the same distance that he had on other days, he would probably pass the night somewhere in the vicinity of Fiskdale, which is approximately fifteen miles from Chaubunagungamaug. It is also known from other sources that there were many Indians in this territory, a fact borne out by Winthrop's purchase of venison as well as grain for his horse from them.

"November 15. Saturday. Many Indians arrive, men, women, boys and girls, loaded with venison and household wares. They told us we were on the Agawam route. They were willing to guide us to Tantiusques if we so desired, but it seemed better to go on to Agawam. The snow did not melt all that day, but it was below the freezing point with a strong N. W. wind. We spent the night about 6 miles from Sprinkfeild [*sic*], collecting pine boughs and arranging them in the manner of Indian huts against the force and cold of the wind and spreading out grass for a bed and covered with nets filled with grass and with blankets we spent the night quite comfortably."

It is evident that word had been passed around of Winthrop's approach. The Indians, plainly friendly and ever anxious to trade, desired to sell him food and other wares. His refusal to accept their offer to guide him to Tantiusques is probably explained by the snow, which would prevent his viewing the locality or the outcroppings of the graphite very well. At any event, he continued on his way and probably passed through the Indian locality known as Ashquoash (later Quabaug Old Fort) just north of the present Brimfield, over Steerage Rock Mountain, and down the west side and across the beautiful meadow to approximately the spot where the present Brimfield road bridges the Quabaug River. There the trail forked; a part crossed the river at the shallow water and went on to the falls at Hadley, but Winthrop took the westerly branch, which continued to the Chicopee Falls, keeping on the south side of the river and going through the lower part of the present town of Palmer, over a path

which traversed approximately the route of the street through the State Hospital grounds, east and west. Then he went over Bald Peak and down the western side to North Wilbraham.

His route from North Wilbraham to Springfield varied a little from that of the present Boston road, but since he states that he spent the night about six miles from Springfield, we can very closely locate the spot as west of Stony Hill, by the riverside near Ludlow or Indian Orchard. These are known Indian locations, and later records indicate that they were far better fishing places than Holyoke or Windsor. At an early date the settlers of Springfield cut a path to that vicinity to join the eastward trail.

Winthrop's remarks concerning the manner in which Indian huts were sometimes constructed is of interest. He also mentions here for the second time his use of nets stuffed with grass, which made a soft mattress or a warm covering much needed on the hard, cold November ground.

"November 16. Sunday. Clear. Rested in the afternoon. A little before night we reached Springfeild and the house of Master Pinchon. There the whole river was frozen above the falls [at Windsor]."

William Pynchon, the founder and foremost citizen of Springfield, was associated with Winthrop both as a friend and in a business way. The cold weather is also vouched for by Governor John Winthrop, Senior, who records that the winter of 1645-1646 was the earliest and coldest experienced since the first arrival of the Boston colony in 1623.

"November 17. Monday. About 10 o'clock or a little before, we started for Hartford. The small streams were frozen over so that they would hold both us and our horse. We had to wait a long while for the ferry to take ourselves and horse to Windsor so that it was evening even before crossing the river. On the main road in Windsor we crossed on a ferry where there had formerly been a bridge, but this had been swept away by a flood. The whole day was pleasant but cold before night. Master Allen accompanying us to the part of the correct route where it is easy to go astray, we reached Hartford about 9 o'clock and the house of our host, Thos. Ford."

After the Sunday rest, Winthrop traveled down the eastern side of the river, where the path followed along the edge of the meadow at the foot of the hill which bordered it. The Windsor ferrying place, about a mile north of the village, was known as "Bissell's Ferry", from the family which operated it. Once over, he turned southward towards Windsor and on the main road in the town had to ferry across another river, the Tunxis or Farmington.

Matthew Allyn was an original Hartford settler who bought the Plymouth Company's land in Windsor and moved thither by 1644. The "correct route" refers to the early road to Hartford through the Plymouth meadow, which was the planting ground of the farmers.

The farmers objected to the location of this way, and in 1638, by court orders, an upland road was put under development. Hartford completed its section and kept it in good condition but the Windsor end was bad, and travelers persisted in going the meadow way. This situation was confusing to a stranger, hence Mr. Allyn's guidance. At Hartford Winthrop stopped at the town's first inn, established by Thomas Ford late in 1644.

Winthrop was eleven hours going from Springfield to Hartford, which is twenty-seven miles. This is by far his longest day's travel on the trip and would seem to indicate better paths or roads.

"November 18. Stayed at Hartford. The governor and the officials had gone to their country place in Tuncsis [Farmington].

"November 19. Wednesday. Having got a Mohego Indian to carry our things, I set out for Saybrook by land. For the river was frozen over so that the boats, *Jonathan Trumbull* and the *Phoenix* of New Haven were tied up, not having enough water even before it froze. Also a small boat, *Thomas Stanton*, and a ferryboat from Saybrook. We crossed the Matabeset and other small streams on the ice and reached the house of an Indian named Wehasse, where we slept that night in the house of an Indian named Seanuxut. Cold and fair all day."

Winthrop evidently left his horse at Hartford; otherwise he would have had no need of an Indian to carry his baggage. He had apparently planned to go to Saybrook by water, had not the boats been tied up by low water and ice. The exceptionally cold weather aided him in crossing the streams as he followed the trail southward to Saybrook. The dwellings of Wehasse and Seanuxut he calls "houses," and probably he meant just that, for the English often constructed houses for important and friendly natives. Seanuxut, under whose roof he slept for the night, may have been Seancut, a prominent Hartford Indian who later traded with John Pynchon of Springfield.

"November 20. Thursday. Reached Saybrook a little before evening. Clear and cold.

"November 21. Stayed by Saybrook. Clear and calm. Toward evening S. and S.S.E. wind. A boat crossed to the west. It started a little after midnight to rain.

"November 22. Stayed at Saybrook. N.W. wind. Cloudy. A boat called the [a catch] came from the west and dropped anchor before the harbor on the eastern side."

At Saybrook Winthrop was back once more in the town which he had helped to found and where he had also acted as governor. It was old familiar ground, and it is regrettable that the diary does not give us something of his activities during the four or five days there.

"November 23. Sunday. Wind W. The boat tried to enter the harbor but sailed in slowly. Finally it could not enter and dropped

anchor again. After dinner, however, Elias Parkman, as captain, came with a ferry, accompanied by a merchant, John Tinker, and Mr. Williams from Windsor with some sailors, the boat having been left with three sailors, namely, Frost, Hadfre, and a boy. During the night a wind arose and a driving rain, so that there was a great storm, and as a consequence the boat, whose anchors did not hold so well (for it lost its biggest anchor a little earlier near the island called Coninecut, alias Fishers Island) was driven to shore, but on a sandy spot, with no rocks, the captain and the others remaining at Saybrook.

“November 24. Monday. Wind W. There was a strong swell on the sea. I was so hindered because of the wind and the fall of the tide that I could not cross the river, fearing that the ferry might be driven on a sandbar.

“November 25. Wind W.S.W., blowing violently. About ten or eleven o'clock I crossed the river with the waves so high that they often came into the boat with great violence. I was afraid that the ferry would hit bottom in which case without a doubt it would suddenly be filled with water. The water was not deep, often the oars scraped bottom and once or twice if I am not mistaken, when the waves subsided, the ferry did touch in one spot. But with God's help we reached the shore safely, where we met the captain and two others who told us about the ship. We went to see the boat which was being tossed dangerously on a rock but not [harmfully] unless a N.N.E. wind came. That night we came to an Indian fort at Niantiga [Niantic] but the Indians were all away with their homes. I fell into the stream about up to my waist.”

In the days of Winthrop's visit there was a trail known as the Pequot Path which followed along the shore of the Sound, and it was over this that Winthrop traveled.

“November 26. Wednesday. A little after daybreak journeying near Nameag we found some little Indian houses and one of the Indians guided us to Nameag. All that day we crossed overland looking for a suitable spot for a colony. The night was very cold.”

The phrase “looking for a suitable place for a colony” seems to disprove the conjecture commonly made in histories of New London that its settlement was begun in the summer of 1645. Clearly, the chief sponsor of the colony was looking for a suitable location in late November of that year.

“November 27. Wind N.W. About ten o'clock leaving Mr. Petro and the rest behind, I crossed in a canoe with one man Jo. R. and an Indian [who was] guiding us, by the name of Sabin. A meeting having been arranged with Robin who had served before, I crossed the river and the stream Poquanuc, where Robin told me there was fruit-bearing land without rocks, arable with a goodly number of planting-fields. I crossed also the River Mistick, accompanied hither by Robin and his brother, who then returned to Nameag with my letter

to Mr. Pet. I stayed here about an hour, lighting a fire, eating, and writing. About evening we neared the river Pacatuck, but as the usual place [for crossing] was frozen and yet not everywhere solid enough, I could not cross on foot or by canoe, the part being frozen where the canoe usually could cross. But, by the providence of God, there was an Indian on the other side and he pointed out for us a place about a half mile below where we crossed on the ice safely, while some Indians watched us crossing. As darkness came we entered the house of an Indian, Cutshamekin, a relative of Robin, [later] being taken to the house of George, whose wife was formerly a woman of Momonotuck. We slept in comfort."

Apparently satisfied with his careful survey of the site for his colony, to which he came with his family and his brother Deane in the following October, Winthrop said goodbye to his friends and departed for home. "Mr. Petro," whom he mentions, was Thomas Peter, brother of Hugh, and an ejected Puritan clergyman formerly of Cornwall, England. He had been chaplain at the fort in Saybrook and now was a staunch supporter of the new settlement idea. "Jo.R." was probably Jonathan Rudd of Saybrook, who was later married by Winthrop at Bride Brook. Robin, the Indian, Cassasinamon, the chief of the remnant of Pequots known as Nameaug, who lived on the site of present New London. Cassasinamon was a special friend of the English, and it is evident that Winthrop had arranged for him to act as a sort of guide. Cutshamekin, who is said to have been a former Massachusetts sachem, friendly to the English, had served as an interpreter during the Pequot troubles in 1636. He must have been related to Robin Cassasinamon only by marriage, for Robin was a Pequot.

"November 28. Friday. I remained at George's house, because nearly all day there was rain, hail, and much snow. About three o'clock it got calm, etc.

"November 29. Saturday. Fair weather, the wind Northerly & a little Ely towards night. We lodged at Notoriope his wigwa, neere [blank] the great pond, the water runs thence into Pacatucke. We were come about 20 miles from Mimbago where we ly. Saw Wequash-cooke only as we passed by his house."

The wigwam of the unidentified Indian called Notoriope was near the pond now known as Worden's. Mr. William Davis Miller, who was of the greatest assistance in following Winthrop's route through Rhode Island, in his *The Ancient Paths to Pequot*, places its site southwest of the center of the pond, a mile or so away, on a sandy plain. Many relics have been found thereabouts. Wequashcooke, also known as Cashawasset and as Harman Garrett, was a Pequot, the chief of another small remnant of the old tribe not absorbed by the Mohegans. He and his followers frequently lived near Pawcatuck (Westerly, Rhode Island), and his house was there, a bit northerly of the present Westerly bridge.

“November 30. We came to the trading-houses at Cacosquisset, Mr. Wilcox house, where were 2 English yt traded for ye Duch Gov, John Piggest & John ——— Mr. Williams mā. I stepped over a trap just in ye path right at Pesicus fort, & saw it not before I was over it, my mā calling to me of it as I stepped over it. George ye Indian was over it before me &c.”



Balanced Rock, Lanesborough

Beyond Notoriope's wigwam the Pequot path rounded the south shore of the pond and swung northeastward towards higher ground. As Wait Winthrop, son of John, Jr., described the route many years later, at a point now known as Curtis Corners it turned northwestward and went down the hill to the south end of the Great Plain. Pessacus' fort was probably on this plain a bit northeasterly of Larkin's Pond and on the east side of the Chipuxet River. Winthrop's route was in a northeasterly direction over the Great Plain, and it took him finally to the trading post at Cocumscussuc, just north of present Wickford, Rhode Island. This was an early trading station and at the time of Winthrop's visit was owned by Roger Williams and a John or Edward Wilcox, who sold his interest to Williams the following year.

“Dec. 1. I came to Tossaconawayes wigwam. I hired a guide to Providence for 2s 6d, who carried or things also. Lodged by the way at Patuxet, at old William Arnolds house, it being a very wett evening

& al through that night a great storme & raine; the snow was quite gone before morning. This is counted 15 miles from ye trading house.

"Dec. 2. I came to Providence. Lodged at Benedict Arnolds house, being but 5 miles from Patuxet. Mr. Williams brother.

"Dec. 3. Wednesday. I passed in a canoe downe Providence River & so landed 2 miles below Secunke [Rehoboth]. Staied there about an houre at Walter Palmers house. Went to the Wading river & waded over & ther rested by ye rivers side. This is about 14 miles fro Secunke. Mr. Coop & Mr. Paine of Secunke came to us in ye night from ye Bayward. At moone rise they sett us wth their horses over the next river where the flood had carried away the bridges."

Winthrop wanted to see as many prominent men as he could, probably to interest them in his new colony plans and in the iron forge he was promoting. Palmer was a well-known early settler of Seekonk who later, in 1653, bought land in Connecticut and was one of the founders of Stonington. Paine, a miller by occupation, came in 1638 to Hingham, and later moved to Seekonk (Rehoboth), where he was one of the original proprietors. He always had close business connections with Boston. Thomas Cooper, who signed his name "Thomas Coop," came from England to Hingham in 1638, and removed to Seekonk in 1643.

The regular trail or road from Providence to Boston crossed the Seekonk River to the plain of the same name somewhere within the bounds of present Providence. Palmer lived at the southern end of this plain, at the southerly end of present Omega Pond, on the east side of the river which runs into it. Turning homeward, Winthrop crossed this level land and passed the location of present Attleboro; then he waded across Wading River, probably in Foxboro, not far from the present Mansfield line. The Providence-Boston route continued to Dedham, then on to Boston; therefore after crossing the Wading River it necessitated a swing westward between the headwaters of that river and the Neponset. The storm had rendered traveling difficult, and Winthrop, who was still afoot, must have appreciated the lift over the swollen streams which Paine gave him.

"Dec. 4. Thursday. Waded over Naponset, the tree being carried away by the thaw flood, also another little river before. A third [I] made a bridge over, felling a small tree. Passed over Monotaquid at twilight. Came by the direction of the noise of the falls to the forge. Lodged at Facksons, Mr. Hoffes farmer."

This must also have been a difficult day for travel. It is no easy task to ford even a small stream which is so badly flooded that trees normally used for crossings have been carried away. In December, with the rivers full of ice and snow-water, it must have been a chilling task as well as a difficult one. Winthrop, in planning to visit the Forge, had evidently turned easterly, away from the regular path to Boston, which did not cross the Neponset; and it seems likely that

he must have crossed at a place where it was comparatively narrow, for the lower Neponset is a large, wide river. His remarks and the topography of the country indicate that he crossed somewhere near the location of the present Walpole or Canton. From there, he could continue in a northeasterly direction south of the Blue Hills and eventually arrive at the Forge, which was his destination. After crossing the Neponset, he probably continued through or near Ponkapoag, in Canton, and then kept along a trail that closely followed what is now Farm Street, and passed north of the body of water known as Great Pond into Braintree. It is difficult to tell just what Winthrop meant when he said he "passed over Monotaquid [meaning Monatiquot] at twilight," since he does not say "Monotaquid River" and there were several nearby points to which the word "Monatiquot" was applied. The Indian word may mean something like "a place for seeing far off" or "place of observation", and thus may refer to some hill or observation point in or near the Blue Hills.

The Forge, as we have noted, had been started the year before, and Winthrop had invested much money in the undertaking. It was located in Braintree below Morrison's Pond, which may have been the original forge pond. It was in the triangle formed by the river, Elm Street, Adams Street, and Middle Street, on the north side of the river.

Goodman Faxon, the man with whom Winthrop lodged, was Thomas Faxon, and at that time was apparently employed by Atherton Hough (Winthrop's "Mr. Hoffe") of Boston, a wealthy man and landowner. Later Faxon purchased a great deal of the land from Hough. Faxon, an able man, was interested in colonizing work too, and later was surveyor in the Block Island settlement. His house was situated on what is now Dickerman Lane in Braintree, and the cellar-hole may still be seen there. It was less than a mile from the Forge, and it must have been gratifying to Winthrop to be snug and dry again after his hard trip.

"Dec. 5. Came to Boston & home. Deo gratias."

CHAPTER XVII

The Indians of Agawam

AFTER tedious negotiations, on July 15, 1636, the graphic symbols of the Indian owners were appended to a formal deed conveying to the three original promoters, the lands required for the plantation that became Springfield. To achieve that end it was necessary to yield to the natives on all disputed points, for they proved to be able and efficient traders, fully capable of protecting their own interests.

The deed itself well repays a careful study, for much of interest lies between the lines. Shorn of its archaic form and spelling, it reads as follows:

Agaam alias Agawam;

This fifteenth day of July, 1636.

It is agreed between Commucke and Matanchan, ancient Indians of Agaam, for and in the name of all the other Indians, and in particular for and in the name of Cuttonus, the right owner of Agaam and Quana, and in the name of his mother Kewenusk, the tamasham or wife of Wenawis, and Niarum, the wife of Coa, to and with William Pynchon, Henry Smith and Jehu Burr, their heirs and associates for ever, to truck and sell all that ground and muckeosquittaj or meadows, accomsick, viz, on the other side of quana, and all that ground and muckeosquittaj on the side of Agaam, except cottinackeesh, or ground that is now planted, for ten fathoms of wampum, ten coats, ten hoes, ten hatchets and ten knives. And also the said ancient Indians, with the consent of Menis and Wrutherna and Napompenam do truck and sell to William Pynchon, Henry Smith and Jehu Burr and their successors forever, all that ground on the east side of Quinctocot river called usquaiok and nayasset, reaching about four miles in length from the north end of masaksicke up to Chickuppe river for four fathoms of wampum, four coats, four hoes, four hatchets, four knives. Also, the said ancient Indians, doe with the consent of the other Indians, and in particular with the consent of Machetuhood, Wenepawin and Mohemoos, truck and sell all the ground and muckeosquittaj and grounds adjoining called masaksicke, for four fathoms of wampum, four coats, four hatchets, four hous and four knives.

And the said Pynchon hath in hand paid the said eighteen fathoms of wampum, eighteen coats, eighteen hatchets, eighteen hoes

and eighteen knives to the said Commucke and Matanchan and doth further condition with the said Indians that they shall have and enjoy all that cottinackeesh or ground that is now planted. And to have liberty to take fish and deer, ground nuts, walnuts, acorns and sasachiminesh, or a kind of pease. And also if any of our cattle spoil their corn, to pay as it is worth. And that hogs shall not go on the side of Agaam, but in acorn time. Also the said Pynchon doth give to Wrutherna, two coats over and above the said particulars expressed. And in witness hereof, the two said Indians and the rest do set to their hands this present 15th day of July, 1636.

The mark of X Menis.

The mark of X Macassack.

The mark of X Kenix.

The mark of X Wineawis.

The mark of X Ussessas
alias Nepineum.

The mark of X Cuttonus.

The mark of X Matanchan.

The mark of X Winepawin.

The mark of X Wrutherna.

The mark of X Machetuhood.

The mark of X Coa.

The mark of X Commuck.

The mark of X Keckusnek.

Witness to all within expressed that they understood all by Ahaughton, an Indian of the Massachusett.

John Allen.

The mark of John Cownes.

The mark of X Richard Everet

Thomas Horton.

Faithful Thayler.

Joseph Parsons.

The mark of X Ahaughton.

Joseph Parsons, a testimony to this deed, did at the court at Northampton, March 1661-62, testify on oath that he was a witness to this bargain between Mr. Pynchon and the Indians as attests Elizur Holyoke, recorder.

July 8th, 1679. Entered on the records for the county of Hampshire, by me, JOHN HOLYOKE, recorder.

When recording this deed, Holyoke appended the following on the records:

“Memoranda;—Agaam or Agawam;—It is that meadow on the south of the Agawam river, where the English did first build a house, which now we commonly call the House Meadow. That piece of ground it is which the Indians do call Agawam and that the English kept the residence, who first came to settle and plant at Springfield, now so called, and at the place it was (as is supposed) that this purchase was made of the Indians. Quana is the middle meadow adjoining to Agawam, or House Meadow. Masacksick is that the English call the Long Meadow, below Springfeild, on the east side of Quinecticot river. Usquaiook is the Mill river with the land adjoining. Nayasset is the land of Three Corner Meadow and of the Plain”.

The subject matter of the deed is introduced with the words,—“It is agreed between Commucke (he who steals it) and Matanchan, (the old and decrepit one).” It cannot be readily believed that the

two "ancient Indians of Agawam", realized or understood the rank to which they had been elevated. It was probably assumed that ones of their advanced age ought of right to be the patriarchs of the band and hence they were so deemed. It was well within the role of a Pynchon to provide a ritual for impressing upon the natives the importance and seriousness of their acts and the English were prone to impute to the Indians, ceremonies which were actually unknown in their prehistoric life. On a similar occasion the deed for a tract of



South Shore, Pontoosuc Lake

land recited the fact that ownership passed by the delivery of a twig or a turf, "in accordance with the Indian custom". Actually, such symbolic delivery was purely an English custom, dating from medieval times. Such hocus-pocus reached the height of absurdity in a confirmatory deed to the Tantiwiques territory on January 20, 1645, "in witness whereof the Sachem set his mark as he laid the writing on the breast of his son and heir and the said son made his mark on the breast of his father, according to the Indian custom". All this in spite of the fact that the Indians had neither pen nor paper and no knowledge whatever of writing. It was just another bit of balderdash, designed to impress the Indians with the importance and formality of the occasion.

One must be continuously on guard lest he be deceived by anachronisms. The English frequently put thoughts into the minds of the

natives, which, when repeated by them, were accepted as originating with them. The *Key into the Language*, an English-Indian phrase book, published by Roger Williams in 1643, well illustrates the situation. The author gave the native equivalent of 1,000, 10,000, 100,000 &c., naively observing that it was "admirable how quick they are in casting up such a great number with the help of grains of corn instead of European counters". Yet no American Indian ever had 100,000 of anything of which an enumeration was required, and he could never have comprehended what such vast figures represented. With the same disregard, Williams gave the equivalent of guns, powder, and shot; articles wholly unknown to stone-age people, and his were purely coined words.

Even the most trustworthy of modern reference works attribute the game of lacrosse to the Indian, whereas both the name and the game itself are of French origin. In the seventeenth century nostalgic play-boys and cadets from prominent families, in the suite of French officers relegated to Canada for protracted tours of duty, devised the game as a solace from the ennui of that bleak country. Denied by the crude state of the land, the tennis which had been so much a part of their lives, they contrived a cross between a snowshoe and a racquette and used it with a ball some eight inches in diameter, in a game somewhat akin to football. That was the game of lacrosse and such was its origin. In later years it was taken up by reservation Indians and was introduced into England in 1867 by a group of eighteen Iroquois.

An analysis of the native words appearing in the deed of 1636 affords much of interest. The native place-names preserved by those seventeenth century recorders represent a serious attempt on their part to reduce to writing a previously unwritten language. In this effort they were handicapped by the fact that they were contending with an unfamiliar combination of syllables which never sounded alike to any two individuals. Furthermore, as the recorders were of varied abilities and qualifications, acting wholly without precedent, the result was not all that might be desired. Yet the effect is most valuable to the posterity they strove to serve.

It will be noted that while the document was dated at "Agaam, alias Agawam", the word appears four times in the text, each time in the form *Agaam*, indicating that such was the word used by the local Indians.

The lands on the west side of Connecticut, Agaam, Quana, Accom-sick and the muckeosquittaj were sold by Cuttonus (he speaks alone) and the sale was assented to by his mother Kewenusk, who was called the *tamasham* or wife of Wenawis (the truthful one) and Niarum, the wife of Coa, who probably was grandmother to Cuttonus. Here the recorder erred, possibly due to a subconscious groping for a familiar sound. The correct Algonquin word for wife is *mitamusum*, but the guttural Indian tones so slurred the initial that it was lost to Pynchon, and became *tamusum* which he retained as *tamasham*. Though Cuttonus sold this land he continued to live by the river in

neighborly friendship with the English, absorbing their ways and becoming amenable to their laws. He appeared in various land transactions in after years and, as late as 1667, "Cuttonus and his company", for failure to properly maintain a fence about their fields, were "fined to pay two bushels and one-half of Indian corn". Some of the associates of Cuttonus removed to Woronoco shortly after the coming of the English, among them being Wenapawin and the widow of Kenix, who died at about that time. There she became the wife of Janandua, and the little band was consolidated with a local group having a stockaded village on the hill south of Pochassic.

At Woronoco the widow of Kenix was known as Secousk, and thus is provided a perfect illustration of how descriptive Indian personal names were, for this is a compound word meaning no more than "widow woman", that is *secou-squaw*, literally "a left behind woman". In composition, the Pynchons, both father and son, invariably (as Roger Williams did frequently) slurred over the noun so that it remained simply as *sk* or *qua*.

Quana is a word of which the spoken sound might perhaps have been more correctly represented by *kwnau*. This is a verb in the third person singular of the present indicative with inanimate subject, which means "it is sunken down" or "it is depressed". Being in the midst of Agawam, or "ground overflowed by water", it must have been a marshy place in the meadows, such as are there today.

Accomsick is from the root *akam*, meaning "on the other side". The termination, *sick*, is the locative case of *assi*, "land", which is *assick*. Thus the meaning is "on the other side of the land", videlicet, quana.

Muckeosquittaj equals *mukkosqut*, "meadow", *aug*, "land".

Cottinackeesh is from *kitikanakish*, a compound word made up of *kitkan*, "plantation" and *auk*, "land" in the diminutive, the meaning being "the planting fields".

No bounds whatever were given for the lands sold by Cuttonus, but on January 8, 1639, it was decreed that the north bounds of the plantation on the west side should be "at a brook above the Great Meadow (Riverdale) which is a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Chicopee river". This is now Hyde brook, formerly Ashley brook.

In May, 1645, the south bounds on the west side were set at "a little brook on the other side, a little below the brook in the Longmeadow", that is, at a point on the west side, about opposite to Raspberry Brook in Longmeadow. However, the settlers were unable to substantiate any claim to the high lands south of the Agawam, known as the Higher Meadows. This inability they acknowledged by implication, in June, 1666, when two men and one old squaw, for fifty fathoms of wampum, gave a deed for the "lands of the Higher Meadows, below Agawam river mouth and the uplands further south", acknowledging that the Middle Meadow and House Meadow, called Quana and Agawam were long since bought by the English". Therefore, the proper north-south bounds of the purchase were a bit more than four and one-half miles apart.

In May, 1636, disposal was made of "the meadow called Nayas, (the triangular land) towards Patucket by the side of Agawam, being about four miles above in the river". As the different sections became better known to the settlers, they learned to call Patucket by its more proper name of Paucatuck (shallow water) which was at the interval on the north side of Woronoco (Westfield) river, west of Tatham. The "meadow called Nayas", later known to the English as Ashkanunksuck, was the land of the neck formed by the Woronoco River between the trap ridge at Tatham and Mittineague Falls. The English were certainly most generous with themselves in determining the extent of their domain. That they occupied lands beyond the limits of their purchase they tacitly admitted by securing a deed from Paupsunnuck in 1663 for both Ashkanunksuck and Paucatuck, agreeing in effect, that their purchase of 1636 did not extend more than four miles westerly from the Connecticut. Thus, the lands bought from Cuttonus comprised nearly twenty square miles.

From Menis, Wrutherna and Napompenam was bought the land on the east side of the Connecticut, from Pecousic at the north end of Masaksicke (Longmeadow) up to Chicopee River, including Usquaiook and Nayasset.

The word Chickuppe or Chicopee is from *chekee*, violent, and *pe*, water. This is very applicable as the river has a fall of over seventy feet in the City of Chicopee alone.

The prefix of Nayasset is a common one among Indian place-names. It is from *nai*, it corners, and with the locative means "where there is a corner". It more or less coincides with Hampden Park and the Plainfield Street section of modern Springfield.

John Holyoke expressed himself too loosely when he said that Usquaiook was "the Mill river with the land adjoining". There is nothing whatever relating to water in the composition of the word. Pynchon wrote it *usquaiook*. In 1665 Thomas Cooper heard the same word at Brookfield and wrote it *ashquoach*. Today, a qualified philologist would express it as *ishka-ack*. The casual reader might not readily realize the relationship of these three words to each other, yet when spoken, the sounds are quite similar. The derivation is from *iskwai-auk*, meaning "the last land" or "the end of the land". It was the land adjacent to Mill River and extending to Pecousic, that is, "the end of the lands" of these three Indians.

Usquaiook and Masaksicke were divided by Pecousic. The first component of the word, *pecou*, is a verbal noun of frequent use in Indian place-names. It denotes something "open" or "wide" and when used as in this case, an "opening" or a "widening", or as originally applied, would refer to "a tract of land dividing or separating hills", therefore may be freely translated as "a valley". The terminal *sic*, is a common affix to Indian place-names throughout New England. The locative post-position, *ic*, means "in, at or on", not "land" nor "place". It locates, not the object to the name of which it is affixed, but something else as related to that object, which must be of such a nature that location can be predicated of it. Proximity

was denoted in the Algonquin place-names of New England by interposing the diminutive *s* or *es*, between that noun and its affix, *ic*. Hence, the original whole, *Pecou-es-ic*, "at, about, or in the vicinity of the valley" or "widening", which would indicate necessarily, not a limited location, but all the neighborhood through which the valley winds its way. A good free translation would be "where the narrows open out".

Wrutherna, one of the three Indians who joined in the sale of this east side tract and who received the extra two coats, was a wiley,



Onota Lake at Burbank Park near Pittsfield

treacherous individual with whom the settlers had various dealings during the ensuing forty years. Following this sale he married Awonusk of Hadley, thus becoming head of the group there. With his wife and son Squompe he sold lands at Wilbraham, Hadley and Northampton. In 1675, during King Philip's War, it was he who incited the local Indians to join with his Hadley band in a nearly successful attempt to burn and destroy Springfield. Known in 1636 as Wrutherna, in 1653 he was called Wullertha and for the following twenty years as Wequogan. These names were applied at different stages of his life, the first prior to puberty, the second as a young man and the third after he had made a name for himself. The same procedure is in effect today amongst the Canadian Eskimos. In registering those people for family allowances recently, government officials found that an Eskimo child had only a temporary name until he was

about ten years old. In addition, the families are always on the move. The problem was solved by giving each child a dog-tag, with a code letter and number, making him identifiable no matter how often his name was changed or how far his family wandered.

From Machetuhood, Wenepawin and Mohemoos was bought the muckeosquittaj (meadow land) called Masaksicke, extending southerly from Pecousic to a brook at the lower end of the long meadow, now known as Raspberry Brook. The present name of Longmeadow is almost a literal translation of the Indian term, which is from *massa*, great, and *auksick*, the diminutive of *auk*, land, in the locative case, meaning "the great land" or "the great meadow".

No easterly bounds were mentioned for the two east side parcels, but it was later agreed that the lands extended five miles from the river, making a total of forty square miles for the two east side tracts.

From all the lands sold, the natives reserved to themselves all that was of value to them—the sole use of their old planting fields and liberty to take fish, deer, ground nuts (*apios tuberosa*), walnuts, acorns and *sasachiminesh*, which Pynchon called "a kind of pease". Actually these were cranberries, previously unknown to these emigrants from East Anglia, though they were to be found in Scotland. When they were first seen in the Agawam meadows, it was at a season when the berries were green in color and somewhat akin to peas in appearance. In their relations with the natives, the settlers so scrupulously observed this reservation that many land allotments were with the proviso that "the Indians be not wronged in their pease". The natives absorbed the vitamin C with which the berry teemed and unwittingly held it in high esteem.

For these three parcels, comprising sixty square miles, there were given eighteen fathoms of wampum, eighteen hatchets, eighteen hoes, eighteen knives and twenty coats, the whole valued at £30, representing an average payment of ten shillings (\$2) for each square mile.

In any consideration of the adequacy of the payment to the natives it must be remembered that they had an almost limitless domain at their disposal to which they could and, later, did retire. So anxious were the natives for the advice, counsel and protection of the English, that certain groups had earlier expressed a willingness to pay the English to settle in the Connecticut Valley. For a time their lives were but a dream of peace and indolence. Their new neighbors guarded them against their ancient enemies, the Mohawks (literally, "they who eat animate things"), and their newly acquired English tools made their daily tasks mere pastimes as compared with former days.

Small wonder that they lingered on to enjoy these benefits.

The coats that the natives so eagerly sought were not coats such as are known today. The corresponding garments of the time of Charles I were jerkins and doublets, and it was not until the reign of Charles II that the modern fitted coat was known. These Indian coats were of "broad Essex shag", a cloth made from a mixture of flax

and wool, sixty inches wide and with a nap that made it more or less resemble the skin clothing of the natives. Pynchon imported these "trucking cloths" quite extensively for his own trading with the natives for furs and for exchange with traders of other localities for wampum and the like, carrying it in various colors; such as tawny, liver color, mulberry, violet and russet. A large Indian coat was merely a strip of this cloth, a yard and three-quarters long, making a blanket or shawl approximately five feet square, which was the prototype of the Indian blanket which was such an important item in the stock of the trader of later days. Coats but one and a half yards long were called "small coats", and still smaller ones were designated as "child's coats".

In spite of their agreements and stipulations, the Indians, tempted by the ease with which they could till their fields with the tools they acquired from the English, greatly enlarged their corn fields and there were frequent remonstrances on the part of the settlers. These disputes continued through the years, until finally, in 1666, John Pynchon bought out the rights of the Indians to the plots of planting ground they had previously reserved. As a part of the consideration, he built for them on Long Hill, a stockaded village after the Indian pattern, where they lived for many years in great familiarity with the English. Thus did John Pynchon pioneer in the establishing of one of the first Indian reservations in America.

In all their relations with the natives the English tried to be most kindly and helpful. They were made welcome in and about their homes and encouraged to make use of their time for their own benefit, and the benefit of the community as a whole. The settlers took the furs and surplus corn of the Indians, giving in return clothing and tools. English cattle were used to save the natives the arduous labor of plowing their tillage ground and payment was made in labor more suited to the Indian, such as the carrying of messages for long distances. Justice and punishment were meted out to them exactly as to the English.

From the very first the natives had been given to understand that they were a part of the body politic and that the courts were theirs equally with the English. In 1648 the Springfield Indian named Coa had Francis Ball brought before the bar of justice, complaining that the white man had struck the native's wife two blows with a stick. The defense was that it was of little moment as the stick was but two feet long and not so big as the little finger and could have hardly harmed her as he struck the woman only on her bearskin coat. However, Justice Pynchon decreed that Ball pay her two fathom of wampum in satisfaction of her wounded pride.

In 1650 Thomas Miller was ordered to be given fifteen lashes on his bare back for striking the Indian Nippunsuit with the butt of his gun, but, before the punishment was inflicted, Miller bought himself off by paying the native four fathom of wampum.

That same year a Housatonic Indian living near New Haven came into the town, broke into the house of Rowland Thomas and

stole his wife's "best real kersy petticoat and a basket of linen". It was suspected that the thief had sought refuge among the Indians living by the banks of the Agawam and they were ordered to produce him in court. However, he was not apprehended and the local Indians were accused of conniving in his escape. Their chief, Coa, endeavored to give satisfaction and clear himself by the giving of a coat and three fathom of wampum, which the court decreed was too little, and the matter was finally settled by adding two more fathom.

These matters all came before the Court when William Pynchon was Justice, but after he retired to England and John Pynchon succeeded him, the same course prevailed.

In 1660 Thomas Miller complained that certain Indians came to his house and frightened his children by throwing sticks at them. His wife remonstrating, one of the Indians knocked her down with a blow on her head, with his fist. Miller went into the house for a cudgel and a general *mêlée* ensued. The natives fled, but were pursued by a posse on horseback and captured. The Court ordered that six fathom of wampum be collected from them to recompense the posse and eight fathom for Miller.

This particular band of marauders came from the Nipmuc country and it indicates what a gathering place Springfield was for the natives. Pynchon's great store of trading goods may have been one magnet which drew them here. John Pynchon's account books show many transactions with Umpanchela of Northampton and Wequogan of Hadley. Seanan, a Wethersfield sachem, was a customer, as well as Seancut of Hartford and his wife. The son of Nosatuck of Nipnet was trusted for some goods for which he promised to bring in a beaver skin.

But other elements must have entered into the situation. Other trading stores must have been available to these people. It would seem that the reputation of the Pynchons was so well known to these people that they preferred to go long distances to reach the place where there was a fixed standard for the furs which they had to offer, in exchange for the goods of which they were in need.

Without precedent to guide them, William Pynchon and his son John developed the ways and means and ethics of the fur trade along lines later adopted by the great Hudson Bay Company, which has remained in continuous existence for two hundred sixty-five years.

In 1666 John Pynchon himself was the complainant in Court. Pamesen of Westfield had sold him some land, but after receiving the forty pounds consideration, had withheld the land, which the Court ordered him to deliver.

In 1667 the tables turned again, as Allignat and Wallump of Westfield accused Thomas Cooper of securing their land by questionable methods. Once more the Court gave them satisfaction.

It is significant that these two, Thomas Cooper and Thomas Miller, were the only Englishmen killed by the Indians at the sack of the town on October 5, 1675.

In the closing days of King Philip's War, the leaders brought together the local troopers for a fight to the finish. Pursuing the fleeing bands over the road now known as the Knox Trail, they surprised them at the crossing of the Housatonic and there practically annihilated them.

Some few trusted ones remained here, among them being an old lame Indian called Ephraim, and for years they lived a lazy, indolent life along the Pecousic Brook in Forest Park, subsisting on such game and fish as were to be had. They intermarried with the Negro slaves and lowest types of whites. One man, who seems to have been of a better caste than the majority, lived in a small frame house built on a foundation of brick and brownstone, situated just within the Park limits, north of the Stickney road. The ruins of his great fireplace show plainly, and it is still possible to trace the path his footsteps wore to the bubbling spring below. Here the last of the Agawams lived a solitary life, until civilization encroached too closely upon his domain, when he departed to join the St. Regis Indians on their reservation in northern New York.

Thus ended the dreams of the Indians at Springfield. They had scarcely forty years of the acquaintanceship and help of the English when their ill-considered plans brought to an end all hope of what they might have received from their white neighbors.

We hear tales and legends of the appearance here of King Philip in person, but such stories are based on the most flimsy tradition. The very name of Philip was a by-word and a terror to the colonists of southern New England. He was a well-known public character, in frequent enforced conference with the authorities. It is reasonable to assume, that if he had been here he surely would have been recognized and mentioned in the correspondence and reports concerning the disaster. Pynchon was overwhelmed by the destruction of the town and asked the Rev. John Russell to notify Governor Leverett of the facts and appeal for help. Russell reported that "their old sachem, Wequogan, in whom as much confidence was put as in any of their Indians, was ringleader in word and deed". In none of the voluminous correspondence of the day is Philip so much as mentioned in connection with the Springfield affair, while on the contrary, Wequogan's part is related in detail.

It would appear that Wequogan had an intellect superior to that of the average Indian. Having sold his land at Springfield to William Pynchon, he removed to Hadley, and the land there he later sold to John Pynchon. Apparently he sensed that the time would come when such sales and removals must end, and that the white men would completely occupy the country of his fathers. Quite possibly he conferred as to general policy with Philip, who appears to have had similar fears. But there is no evidence to show that Philip ever had a personal hand in any Springfield affairs.

When plans for the Agawam plantation were in their early stages and during the first year of the settlement, the country was in the shadow of an Indian war. For years the natives had coveted the

services of the English, but time and familiar contact had reduced the superstitious awe, with which they had earlier regarded them, to a feeling of contempt. Greedy fur traders provided the Indians with prohibited weapons in the hope of greater returns, and with guns and ammunition in their hands they soon came to consider themselves invincible. The Indian of the bow and arrow held little terror for men of Pynchon's caliber. The effective range of the stone-tipped arrow being decidedly limited, the English learned to note the missile



(Courtesy of Pioneer Valley Association)

Mt. Holyoke, as Seen From the End of the Mt. Tom Range

in its flight and dodge it very adroitly. But with modern weapons in his hand the Indian became a foe to be reckoned with.

In November, 1636, Lionel Gardiner at Saybrook bitterly complained that "the Indians are many hundreds on both sides of the river and shoot at our pinnaces as they go up and down, for they furnish the Indians with pieces, powder and shot". Pynchon was well aware of these occurrences. While at Roxbury in April, 1636, he received news of the killing of two men at the Connecticut and asked the younger Winthrop to inquire into the circumstances and see that proper retribution was meted out.

In the autumn of 1636 Matthew Mitchell and his son-in-law, Samuel Butterfield (who had been granted house lots adjacent to Mill River), journeyed to Saybrook in one of the Pynchon shallops, to care for some cattle that had been brought to Saybrook in the barque

Blessing. While securing hay at Six Mile Island (now Calf Island), in the river above Saybrook, Butterfield was captured and burned alive. Mitchell never returned to Agawam and the shallop was impressed by the Connecticut authorities for use against the Pequots.

All through the winter of 1636-1637 the Connecticut towns were terrorized by the savages and several settlers were killed. A Wethersfield man was captured and burned alive and shortly after, the town itself was attacked, ten people being killed and two girls kidnapped. Stirred to action by the growing spirit of defiance, a little army of seventy-seven men met at the Saybrook fort, whence they sailed, on the night of May 20, 1637, for the Pequot country. Landing at Point Judith, they attacked the palisaded village of the Pequots, and in an hour's time, with a loss of two killed and sixteen wounded, practically wiped the nation out of existence; only five of the seven hundred warriors in the stronghold escaping death. The Agawam plantation was spared participation in these hostilities, not only by its remoteness from the seat of war, but also by its uniformly fair treatment of the savages, and their lesser familiarity with, and consequent greater respect and fear of, the English.

Early in 1638 a levy of £620 was made on four river towns to defray the expenses of the war. Pynchon was appalled on receiving a bill for £86-16s and later was summoned to Hartford to answer for non-payment. He protested that the snow was so deep that it was almost impossible to carry on domestic affairs, to say nothing of journeying abroad. He did appear at the next Court on March 8, 1638, but the records give no hint as to the outcome.

CHAPTER XVIII

Physical Springfield

THE site selected for the plantation that became Springfield was hardly more than a narrow sand spit, almost an island, some two miles in length and having an extreme width of a third of a mile. Westerly it was bounded by the Connecticut and easterly by the Hassocky Marsh (Main to Dwight Streets); a swamp filled with living springs, into which drained the waters from the high lands east of it. At the widest part of this sand spit, in the vicinity of Worthington and Pyncheon Streets, was the center of activity.

The high land to the east, a sandy "pine barren, interspersed with unimprovable swamps", rose a hundred and fifty feet above the river and stretched easterly for ten miles to the Wilbraham Mountains.

The Town Street abutted closely upon the marsh, following the line of the bank, which is the reason for its winding course today.

From the east, down the valley where the Boston and Albany railroad now runs, came Garden Brook, from its headwaters in the swamp at Dirty Gutter in East Springfield. Shortly before reaching the Town Street, it turned northerly and, joining with End Brook, entered the Connecticut at the northerly end of Hampden Park. In the earlier days of the settlement, certainly as early as 1638, various lot owners dug a ditch between the highway and the marsh. So effectively did it tend to drain the marsh that it was adopted as a town institution, and in January, 1639, it was ordered that "all that have a ditch by the highway before their doors shall keep it well scoured for the ready passage of water that it may not be pent up to flow the meadow."

In December, 1641, each inhabitant was required, before the following May, to make a ditch the full width of his lot, and this grew to be a flowing brook, conveniently furnishing water for household purposes as well as for washing flax and hemp. But in March, 1647, this latter use was prohibited as it was "judged offensive and noisome" and prevented the brook's "ordinary use for dressing meat".

In March, 1660, each inhabitant, "from the middle of the town upwards" to John Pyncheon's was required to maintain "a good and sufficient ditch for the free and ready passage" of the surplus water, and between Pyncheon's and Holyoke's lots (now the northerly line of

Worthington Street) the ditch was to be extended easterly "six or eight rods up the meadow". This extension connected it with Garden Brook at the point where it turned northerly and thereby partially turned Garden Brook into the ditch, although it still followed its original northerly course, but as time went on and the current scoured out the bed of the ditch, more and more of the water flowed through the new channel. This was possible simply because at Worthington Street is the highest point on Main Street, the ground gently sloping both north and south from that point.

Thus was unwittingly created a new brook that became known as the Town Brook, certainly as late as the late nineteenth century. It was of great economic importance to the town, flowing as it did parallel with the town street for nearly its entire length. Its value for fire fighting alone was inestimable and for two centuries it was the town's main reliance for that purpose. At a point south of State Street, other brooks coming down from the east joined with it, and so entered the Connecticut adjacent to the mouth of Mill River.

Garden Brook was quite a sizeable stream. Tributaries from the south were the brook from Kibbe Hollow, now covered, that form Squaw Tree Dingle, now the playground between Magazine and Bowdoin Streets and the one from Ingersoll Glen. The lowest tributary from the north rises at Armory Street and passes under Nursery Street. The next easterly is the brook emerging from the angle at Armory and Liberty Streets, and further east is the stream from Lombord Reservoir.

It was long the source of power for manufacturing. At Armory Street (where in 1673 John Ladd had a tannery) Paint Shop Pond was created and at Spring Street a dam formed Nettleton's Pond, which furnished power to the plant that later became Gilbert and Barker's. Near the corner of Chestnut and Worthington Streets was another mill site, at one time occupied by Howland and Barnes. Still later the stream supplied water for the Springfield Aqueduct Company, providing the town's earliest modern water supply.

From Chestnut and Worthington Streets, Garden Brook followed the present line of Worthington Street, until shortly before reaching Main Street it turned abruptly north and passing under number twenty-one Lyman Street, joined with End Brook, and entered the Connecticut at Hampden Park.

In 1828 Charles Stearns contracted to put into underground conduits the section of Garden Brook from Chestnut Street down to and along the entire length of Main Street. After 121 years, those conduits are still doing duty under the northerly sidewalk of Worthington Street and the easterly sidewalk of Main Street.

The hill south of Garden Brook was a mass of springs. The westerly approach to the Armory grounds was at one time terraced as is the Pearl Street side, but eventually it became necessary to grade the hillside to a continuous slope to prevent washing.

The southerly slope of the Armory grounds was the source of another mass of springs which originally drained into the brook

between High and State Streets. There, in the hollow known as Skunk's Misery, was Card Factory Pond and a stream, which in the nineteenth century supplied water for a brewery near Myrtle Street and another where Unity Church now stands, following the line of Stockbridge Street, turned south at Main Street, and becoming the southerly part of the Town Brook, entered the Connecticut near Mill River, receiving in its course the waters of numerous brooks and springs originating in the hills east of it.

In 1852 the town selectmen reported that "the water which in former years was suffered to spread in various directions over the Armory grounds is now conducted through culverts in State Street and is thus within safe control." In the same report, an inventory of town property included a "fountain or reservoir of water at the corner of State and Chestnut Streets".

Further south was a stream rising in Martha's Dingle, from which was made Rumrill Pond at Avon Place and Batty's Pond, north of Central Street, just below Maple, which also joined the Town Brook near Main Street.

On the plain above the town were numerous ponds. At the head of Squaw Tree Dingle (Bay and Magazine Streets) was a small one, later enlarged by the War Department, and that part of Lincoln Street, between Bowdoin and Magazine Streets, was originally the crest of the dam that created the greater pond.

Further east were the two Goose Ponds, close to State Street, north of Winchester Park, and beyond were dozens of other ponds and swamps, the waters of which drained either into Chicopee or Mill River.

There is little present evidence of the existence of those waters. By drainage; by the leveling of the "hill" west of Main Street; by the breaking up of the subsoil incident to building operations and the digging of trenches for public service pipes, the waters of the Hassocky Marsh were diverted to the river and many of the brooks now flow through the city sewers. The earliest modern effort toward disposing of the surplus water of the marsh, was by a drainage sewer installed through Elm Street to the river in 1842, making a section of the marsh dry and usable. The success of this enterprise resulted in a similar installation through Worthington Street in 1863.

The streams were a vital factor in the selection of the plantation site. Bordered as they were by water-loving trees, they were the haunt of innumerable beavers and to the beaver the settlers owed much in the way of preparation of the land for their purposes, for that animal created the finest of fertile meadows.

For their winter supply of food a single colony has been known to fell a thousand trees so that little time was required to clear the timber about a pond, which was then abandoned, to fill up and form the level "beaver meadows" so much sought by the early settlers. In the numerous brook valleys Pynchon found these fertile meadows on the sites of the abandoned ponds, surrounded by the land cleared by

those energetic animals, ready cleared for the immediate needs of the colonists.

Prior to the coming of the Europeans, the natives subsisted on what they gained from the chase, supplemented by meager agricultural efforts. Fur gathering was then merely a minor issue and was restricted to the supplying of their own needs for shelter and clothing. They welcomed the establishing of the fur posts, as the proceeds from their furs supplied their needs in a much more satisfactory manner and with much less effort than in the past. It enabled them to live a life which exactly coincided with their idea of an ideal existence.

In the earlier days of the colonies the Indians supplied hundreds of thousands of beaver skins annually, the quantity far exceeding that of all other varieties combined. This was partly because of the millions of these animals available and partly because they were much the easiest to secure without going far afield. This nearness was an item of consideration, as skins were of greatest value if taken during the short, cold days when the animal was in its winter coat, during which season extended travel was most irksome.

In the autumn the beavers congregated to prepare shelter and food for the long, northern winter. After throwing a dam across a stream, in the resultant pond they built their house of mud, sticks and stones, partly under and partly out of the water, with the exposed surfaces plastered with mud, which in freezing, made an almost impenetrable stronghold. During the winter, when the fur was in its prime, the Indian, after driving a row of stakes across the up-stream bed of the brook, to prevent escape in that direction, made a breach in the dam, draining the pond, thus rendering the house accessible. As the beavers attempted to escape with the outrush of water, they were clubbed to death as they passed through the breach in the dam. The white settlers had little inclination for this type of hunting, but it was eminently suited to the lazy brutal Indian and was productive of immediate results with no loss of labor, such as would have been entailed in the making of traps or the tediousness of tending them.

CHAPTER XIX

The First Meeting House

ON SATURDAY, May 14, 1636, William Pynchon and seven associates, "being all of the first adventurers and subscribers for the plantation," assembled by the Connecticut and drew up a series of thirteen articles for the government of the future town of Springfield. The first article, following the preamble, reads thus—

"We intend, by God's grace, as soon as we can, with all convenient speed, to procure some Godly and faithful minister with whom we propose to join in church covenant to walk in all ways of Christ."

Fulfilment of that intention was considerably delayed, due to the enforced abandonment of the original town site by the Agawam River and the removal to the east side of the Connecticut to avoid controversies with the Indians.

In due course, however, a church was organized, under the guidance of Rev. George Moxon, but the exact date is not of record. Pastor Moxon was born in Wakefield, Yorkshire, England, the seventh son of James Moxon, husbandman. He was baptized in 1602, matriculated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1620. He received his B.A. in 1624 and was ordained to the ministry in 1626. While at college he was a sizar; that is, he worked his way by performing manual services. During his student days he was reputed to be an excellent writer of Latin lyrics. He was chaplain to Sir William Bereton and later obtained the perpetual curacy of St. Helen's, Lancashire, where he was cited for having "disused the ceremonies"; that is, he had abandoned the ritual of the established church, as savoring of popery. Because of his troubles with the bishop, John Bridgeman, he left St. Helen's in disguise and fled to New England in 1637. For a time he lived at Dorchester, where he was made a freeman, September 7, 1637.

These facts are matters of record, but there is no record of when he came to Springfield. The earliest local date that he positively assigned to him is March 28, 1638, when he was chosen one of two deputies to represent the settlement at a General Court at Hartford. As a whole, the available evidence gives ground for the opinion that

he probably arrived in Springfield and organized the First Church of Christ in the fall of 1637.

There is no evidence to support the popular impression that Moxon and Pyncheon were boyhood friends in England. On the contrary, in 1637, Pyncheon was some forty-seven years old, while Moxon was but thirty-five. Pyncheon was a most astute and practical man. Undoubtedly he had long since made known to the authorities in Boston, his desire to secure "a Godly and faithful minister." It is



The Church Parsonage at Springfield, 1639

This sketch by Wallace E. Dibble, A.I.A., from the recorded specifications of Rev. George Moxon's parsonage, 1639, shows this building on a site where Main and Vernon Streets now are.

of record that he was in Boston in the fall of 1637 and it is more than possible that at that time he was referred to Moxon as a possible incumbent. And that same astuteness would lead him to accept such a candidate only on a trial basis, which explains why the pastor evidently lived in the home of his patron for a year or more, but in January, 1639, he seems to have been accepted by the community as a permanent minister. The thirteen individuals who then made up the settlement subscribed forty pounds "toward the building of a house for Mr. Moxon," and forty-seven pounds, eleven shillings additional, for "Mr. Moxon's maintenance till next Michaelmas,"—that is, September 29, 1639.

From this building fund, eighteen pounds went to Jehu Burr "for a frame of a house thirty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide with a porch five feet out and seven feet wide, with a study overhead, with stairs into the cellar and chamber, making doors and laying boards for four rooms with double chimneys, the sides of the cellar planked."

John Cable was paid eleven pounds "for the sawing of all the boards and slit work, four locks, with nails and hooks and hinges for the doors."

Henry Smith applied the outer coating of mud-stucco, and for this "daubing of the house and chimneys, underpinning the frame, making the stack and oven, seven feet high, with laths and nails," he was paid eight pounds.

The remaining three pounds of the fund were paid to John Allen "for the thatching of the house, he to undertake the getting of the thatch and all things belonging to it, with lathing and nails."

This typically English, half-timbered, thatched roof cottage, quite similar in appearance to the familiar Ann Hathaway cottage in England, stood on Main Street, north of Vernon Street. For more than a third of a century, here lived the successive pastors, until the house was burned by the Indians in the assault on the town in 1675.

The plot on which the parsonage stood was Moxon's own homelot, which extended from the present Besse Place to the south line of Forbes & Wallace front building. The westerly bound was the river and easterly it extended approximately to Spring Street. On Moxon's return to England with Pynchon in 1652, the town bought all of his property which, it was agreed, should "forever belong to the ministry in Springfield." It was so held until 1806, and was then sold by order of the General Court, for the benefit of the ministry fund.

This little band of pioneers, a mere baker's dozen, was for years seemingly unirked by the lack of a community meeting place. In summer they could hold services out under the trees. In winter a spacious barn would have been fully as comfortable as would have been the unheated church of the period and the home of any of the settlers would have been much more so.

By 1645 the population of the town had doubled, there being no less than twenty-four land holders and serious consideration was given to church building problems and on February 28 there was entered a contract for the construction of the church edifice, which reads as follows, as it appears on page thirty-seven of the first volume of the town records.

"The condition of a bargain made by the inhabitants of Springfield with Thomas Cooper for the building of a meeting house, as followeth.—The said Thomas Cooper is to build the house in length forty feet, in breadth twenty five feet, nine feet betwixt joints, double studded, four large windows, two at each side and one smaller window at each end, one large door at the south side and two smaller doors as shall be thought convenient; to lay justs for a floor above, to shingle the roof, with two turrets for a bell and a watch house, to underpin the house with stone, to daub the wales, to provide glass for the windows (if the pay he hath of the Plantation will procure it) also to find nails and iron work for the full compleating of the building, which is to be finished by the 30th September, 1646. In consideration of which work the plantation do covenant to pay him four

score pounds as money, to be paid quarterly, if he desires it, which is to be paid in wheat, peas, pork, wampum, debts, labor."

During the six years subsequent to the appropriation of a part of the Henry Gregory lot in 1639 as a site for the church, Gregory departed the town and his real estate holdings had been taken over by Thomas Stebbins. Therefore, on May 1, 1645, the town confirmed that taking, with the proviso that the tract for the church should be but six rods square, taking from the remainder sufficient for that lane which eventually became Elm Street, any remaining surplus reverting to the owner. Thus was provided, on the north side of Elm Street, the site for the church and the contract for erecting the same.

In the Town Record Book, following the entry covering the details of the contract with Thomas Cooper for the building of the church is an entry made at a later date, which reads,—“The 26th of March, 1649, this bargain with Thomas Cooper was acknowledged by the town to be fulfilled and be discharged by vote”. Thereby hangs a tale.

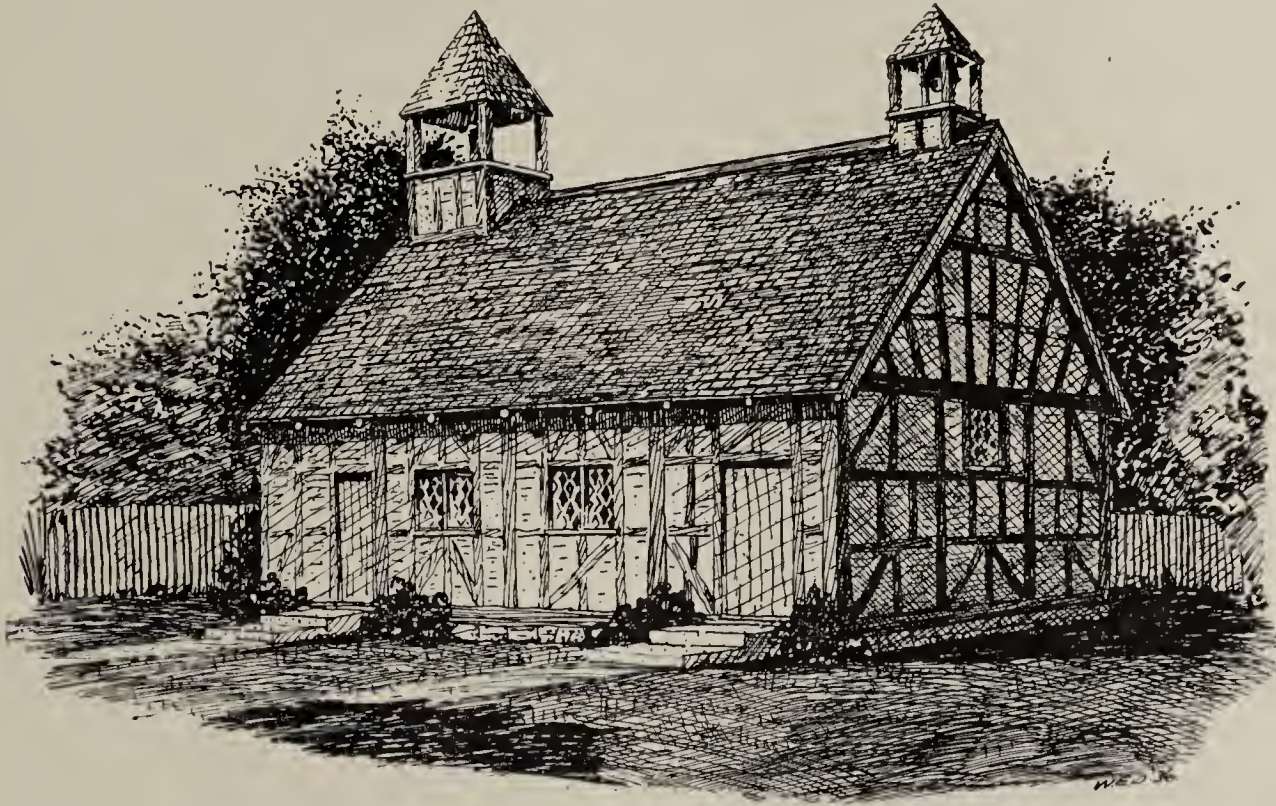
Much of local history that has been written in recent years has been based on the printed transcript of the town records made by Henry M. Burt and published by him in two volumes, under the title *First Century of the History of Springfield*. This is not a reliable source for the student.

Under Burt's pen, the word “natives” becomes “hatwes”. The “study” for the pastor becomes a “shady”. Date lines are often omitted entirely. In the instance of this discharge of Cooper, on completion of the church, the date becomes 1645 instead of 1649. On the strength of his own error, Burt said,—On the 26th of March, less than one month, the town acknowledged that Cooper had fulfilled his bargain. Such a statement is of course absurd. The church was a sizable structure, built of hewn timbers, which, with so few to prosecute the work, could not possibly have been built in such a limited time. Moreover, there fortunately is ample evidence of such an error. On March 12, 1645-46, the town, having previously paid Cooper forty pounds on account, voted to pay him an additional thirty pounds at that time, leaving “the other ten pounds to rest with the town till the house be finished”. Presumably, the church was completed within the contract time, September 30, 1646, the formal discharge being delayed through oversight.

For two-thirds of a century Springfield has been plagued with an atrocious picture, reputedly representing the original First Church building, but which actually bears no resemblance whatever to it. With its castellated towers, paneled doors, double-hung window sash and square glass panes, it is in no way representative of the period. Unfortunately, however, many have assumed the picture to be a relic of long ago, made while the building was standing, which is far from the truth.

This original drawing was made by a local German fresco painter, Otto Roloff, for the decoration of a float in the parade, during the Two

Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration in 1886. Copies of Roloff's drawing hung for years in the First Church and have been printed in numerous publications. Whatever talents the "artist" may have had, he certainly had no knowledge of colonial architecture. There is such similarity between Roloff's picturization and the then familiar Olivet Church on State Street, known as the "double-barreled church," that one may well suspect it to have been the artist's inspiration. That



The Original Meeting House at Springfield

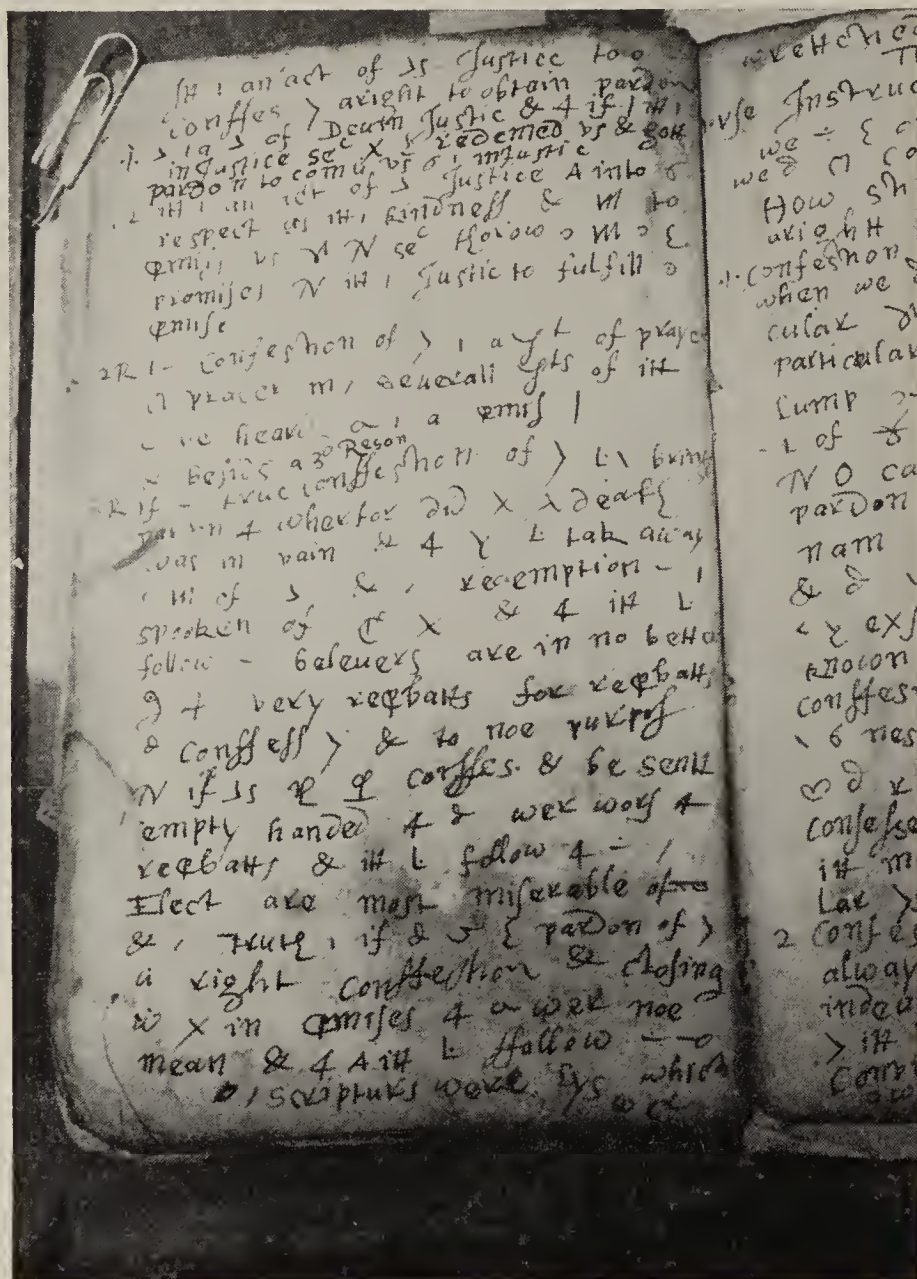
From data painstakingly accumulated by Harry Andrew Wright as Historian, from study of all records and from collaboration with other authorities, Wallace E. Dibble, A.I.A., made this sketch of the First Meeting House in Springfield, showing the building as it appeared when erected in 1645.

untutored German, unfamiliar with the subject may have thought the Olivet Church building representative of New England churches and so followed its lines. The kinship is most apparent.

The recorded specifications for the original First Church building are ample enough to give one conversant with the period a fairly complete picture. A building forty by twenty-five, with two turrets, a seventeenth century turret being, not a tower, as imagined by Roloff, but in the nature of a cupola. To "daub the wales," is an understandable operation and was in accordance with contemporary English construction. These "wales,"—probably willow rods with the bark on, were nailed to the upright timbers, exactly as laths would be today. These were "daubed" inside and out with a heavy mixture of straw and mud, producing something akin to a stucco finish.

This was the building method used at that time in both England and New England.

Such construction withstood the mild climate of England in a fairly satisfactory way, but here it was found that this mud-stucco succumbed to the rigors of ice and snow, and for its protection, an outer coat of boarding was found to be necessary. Hence, in 1652, the church was clapboarded over the original mud side covering.



*John Pynchon's Short-Hand Record of Pastor Moxon's
Sermons, 1640*

Obviously the specifications of 1645 are lacking in many minor details and for years, interested students have searched for additional items, finding a bit here and a bit there. A seating plan of a later date provided information showing the location of the bell rope and so the location of the bell turret. Provision for the taking out of certain seats and consequent relocating of doors gave the clue to the location of the original doors.

By 1936 it was felt that sufficient data had been accumulated to solve all the puzzles and in view of the approaching City Tercentenary celebration, there was an urge to give the information to the public. To this end, Wallace E. Dibble, a local architect, was asked to give to these findings an architect's interpretation. He was much in sympathy with the idea and gave to it much time and study, consulting with authorities in other cities, who also gave freely of their knowledge. The result would seem to be an accurate representation of the church as it appeared when completed.

It will be noted that as originally built the church was provided with joists for a second floor, but that apparently for reasons of economy, no such floor was then laid. In 1650 John Pyncheon was permitted to lay a floor at his own expense and use the resultant chamber for ten years for the storage of grain. By 1652 the population of the town had so increased that provision for additional seating capacity was imperative. The town, therefore, provided that a "gallery" should be created by taking up the middle row of floor boards of the chamber and placing seats around the hole thus made in the floor. It has been suggested that this was the origin of the New England galleried meeting houses.

In nostalgic moods the settlers yearned for a church bell, such as they had known in Old England, but in lieu thereof, "it was agreed with John Matthews to beat the drum for the meeting, at ten of the clock on lecture days and at nine o'clock on the Lord's days. To beat it from Mr. Moxon's to Rowland Stebbins' house and the meeting to begin within a half an hour after." Thus the drummer beat his way from Vernon to Union Streets. Five years later, the desire of the townspeople was satisfied, when the selectmen appropriated £5 to reimburse "Mr. William Pyncheon for the bell" and an additional sum for "hanging the bell."

If one is curious as to the type of theology that emanated from the pulpit of this meeting house, that curiosity can be readily satisfied. In 1640, John Pyncheon, then a lad of fourteen kept a shorthand record of the pastor's sermons. Being in an obsolete system, unknown to modern scholars, this remained undeciphered for some three hundred years, but recently it has been decoded and is most illuminating. The texts were from the New Testament; the themes were of comfort, love and necessity for happiness. It was not until two generations later that those "hell-fire-and-damnation" sermons came from New England pulpits. Two generations of arduous labor to provide subsistence; when schools were few and opportunities for education meager. When daughters of gentlemen married sons of indentured servants. Then came the dark days of bigotry and superstition. But such had no part in the early Springfield of Magistrate Pyncheon and Dominie Moxon.

There is reason for believing that this recording of the pastor's sermons by young Pyncheon was not made in church, but was in the nature of mental gymnastics, provided the minister as tutor to the young son of his patron. As in a later era, laggard pupils were

placed in the corner with a dunce cap, and still later were obliged to write a series of irritating words on the blackboard, so the same spirit seems to have prevailed in the classroom of three centuries ago. At the bottom of one of the pages of John Pynchon's shorthand record of 1640, is a sentence that decodes to read, "John Pynchon is a disobedient and ungrateful boy." The labor of reducing that bit to code was the punishment meted out to that inattentive student.

CHAPTER XX

Agawam Becomes Springfield

THE plantation of Agawam was designed to be a pure democracy. None were entitled to special privileges. When the town allotted to Pynchon, Smith and Burr, a special grant of land that is now Hampden Park, free of all taxes forever, it was on account of extraordinary expenses that they had undergone, and was fully concurred in by the entire body of stockholders.

None were quizzed concerning religion. Church attendance was a matter of individual conscience, but absence from town meeting subjected the offender to a substantial fine. If he did not value his vote, he was not valued as a citizen. The courts were open to all; English or Indian. The natives were encouraged to look to the courts for redress of wrongs and the records indicate great sympathy for them by the jurors. It was Magistrate Pynchon who contended that "until the Indians have sold us their land and subjected themselves to our government, they must be considered an independent and free people".

Freedom of speech was not curtailed. Without jeopardy of life or limb, the perennial troublemaker John Woodcock, in 1639, accused the local minister of perjury. Pastor Moxon had his relief from the court,—a verdict for slander in the sum of 6£, 13s, 4d, quite a sizeable sum for those days. The town constable attempted to collect this under a distraint warrant, but without success, whereupon the magistrate ordered him to "attach the body of John Woodcock and keep it in prison and put him out to service until his wages make satisfaction".

As the Associates selected their citizenry so also they hand-picked their minister, and it was a happy choice. George Moxon was active as a citizen, serving as one of two delegates to the General Court. He was one of a group appointed to restrain the Indians from trespassing on town lands. In the trying times, when his own daughters were witchcraft suspects, he lost neither his poise nor his judgment. It must have been in part his influence that drew hither so many desirable citizens from other towns. Pynchon related that "the Lord has added to us three or four Godly young men from the river towns, and has greatly blessed Mr. Moxon's ministry to the conversion of many souls that are lately added to our church". Moxon loyally aided and encouraged Pynchon when the latter was called before the so-called

bar of justice in Boston, for daring to express the belief that God would not condemn him to everlasting torment for things over which he had no control.

Only after a comparison of the situation at Agawam with that at Boston does one realize the superiority of local conditions. Boston and the adjacent towns were dominated by professional Puritans, led by the clergy, many of whom were fanatical, unfrocked or silenced ministers, driven out of England. Clothed with unaccustomed authority and free from the restraint of English law, they lost all sense of decency and justice. Private letters were opened in search of evidence against those suspected of disloyalty to the established order. Many were men of small caliber with amazingly unclean minds who reveled in the revolting details of sordid sex affairs. They were familiar with the technique of birth control, called by them "hindering conception". The death penalty was provided for any one having sexual relations with a brute beast. As the court records, both before and after the passage of that ordinance, show scant occurrence of such offense, it must be suspected that the need for such a law was but the figment of filthy minds.

To the untimely death of Lady Arbella, wife of his friend Isaac Johnson, Winthrop gave four lines in his journal, while he devoted twenty times that space to an account of a creature born to a neighboring woman,—a child having no face, but with ape's ears, four horns, claws, talons and covered with scales; an evil thing such as only one with a depraved mind could have even imagined. The reputed reason for all this was that the father's religious beliefs had offended a vengeful God.

In 1637, at the close of the Pequot War, when captive Indians were sold into slavery in the Indies, the hypocritical Rev. Hugh Peter wrote to the Governor,—“I salute you in the Lord Jesus. We have heard there is to be a division of the women and children and would be glad of a share; a young woman or a boy and a girl if you think good”. Servants were scarce and expensive and Peter loved the flesh-pots. But events caught up with him, for eventually he returned to England where the public executioner was pleased to deprive him of his head.

Philip Ratcliffe was sentenced to be “whipped, have his ears cut off and banished for uttering malicious and scandalous speeches against the government and the church”.

Such excesses finally became so notorious as to cause uneasiness and disquietude amongst friends of the colonists remaining in England. They were cautioned that they were in danger of having their charter revoked. From London, Edward Howes wrote to Winthrop,—“I have heard complaint against the severity of your Government, cutting off ears and other grievances. There are here a thousand eyes watching you”.

John Norton, Richard Mather, John Cotton, Cotton Mather. Some had left England because they objected to the ritual of the established

church, yet here, those who objected to the Congregational way were persecuted as Quakers. There were many lovable characters amongst them, but those were not of the aggressive type. The Rev. George Burrows was hanged for maintaining that "there neither are nor never were witches".

Thinking men, men of broad vision, sensed the inevitable result of unrestricted indulgence in such excesses. Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Sir Harry Vane came to New England only to return disillusioned after a short experience. Sir Matthew Boynton sent over cattle and servants to prepare for his own coming, but after consultation with others, he altered his plans. Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brooke contemplated a life in New England, but refused to have their lives ordered by such libertines and sought other climes. In 1652 William Pynchon visited England for business reasons and found life so much more free there that he never returned to America.

The climax came at Salem in the closing decade of the century, when, under the exhortations of the rabble-rousing Mathers, two-hundred persons were accused of being in league with the devil and twenty-nine put to death. One, after being tortured for several days, was pressed to death under heavy weights. Less than a year after the last execution at Salem, the Mathers attempted another orgy, but public opinion rebelled and they were thoroughly discredited. Years after, Cotton Mather offered a rather weak apology, saying that there had been "a going too far in that matter". His words were then of little moment. Another day had dawned.

For sixteen years William Pynchon continued at Agawam, and they were strenuous and tumultuous years, due in a great measure to the unchristian persecutions of Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church at Hartford. What initiated the ill feeling is not apparent, but it grew with the years as did also the venom of Hooker's tongue and pen. It must be conceded that in the end the dignity of Pynchon shone brightly as compared with that of his opponent, for he was the great liberal of the group with which he was identified.

As an adjunct to the exodus to the Connecticut, the Massachusetts General Court, on March 3, 1636, granted a commission which in effect organized a separate colony, on which commission William Pynchon and Henry Smith represented Agawam, with two men each for Wethersfield, Hartford and Windsor. The first session of the commission was held at Hartford on April 26, 1638; neither Pynchon nor Smith being present as both were then occupied at Roxbury. The first General Court at which Agawam was represented was on November 1, 1636.

In all the Valley towns the hurried preparations for the spring planting of 1636 resulted in light harvests, and the following year new arrivals made heavy inroads on the stock of grain. The winter of 1637-38 was severe and the spring so late and cold that it was necessary to plant corn two or three times, as the seed rotted in the ground.

In this emergency, the Indians were called on to supply corn to make up the shortage, but those at Woronoco were unable or unwilling to comply. Pynchon was delegated to negotiate with them but, as no results were forthcoming, the court ordered that six men be sent to Woronoco with the demand that a deputation be sent to Hartford to explain their unwillingness to trade, and, if necessary, to use force to compel them to send such a delegation, leaving two of the English as hostages. The hostages were instructed, that while thus detained, to use their best endeavors to induce the natives to part with some of their surplus. However, little corn was secured and it was charged that the Indians were encouraged in their refusal by Pynchon who was credited with "unfaithful dealing and breach of his oath as magistrate".

At a General Court held at Hartford April 5, 1638, Pynchon, Smith and Moxon were all present, and the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas, there was some complaint made against Mr. William Pynchon of Agawam, for that as was conceived and upon proof appeared, he was not so careful as to promote the public good in the trade of corn as he was bound to do. It is ordered that the said Mr. Pynchon shall, with all convenient speed, pay as a fine for his so failing, forty bushels of Indian corn for the public".

Before arriving at its decision the Court called on Pastor Hooker for an opinion on the ethics and morals of the case. The answer was one of most biting denunciation. Though subsequent events offer a complete justification for Pynchon's policy, Hooker's castigations continued in a petty and persecuting manner, including a plea to the church at Roxbury that Pynchon be excommunicated. For three years the abuse continued, subjecting him to much anxiety and trouble.

The General Court of April 5, 1638, was the last at which Agawam was represented, for shortly after, the plantation took advantage of an opportunity to secede from the Connecticut colony and continue under the Massachusetts jurisdiction. Again Hooker proceeded to roil the troubled waters. To Governor Winthrop he wrote an angry letter, saying that:

"If Mr. Pynchon can devise ways to make his oath bind him when he will and loosen him when he list; if he can tell how, in faithfulness to engage himself in a civil covenant, yet can cast it away at his pleasure before he give in sufficient warrant, more than his own word and will, he must find a law in Agaam for it, for it is written in no law nor gospel that I ever read. The want of his help troubles me not, nor any man else I can hear of. I do assure you we know him from the bottom to the brim and follow him in all his proceedings, and trace him in his privy footsteps; only we would have him and all the world to understand, he doth not walk in the dark to us".



First Church of Christ, Springfield

Both the Massachusetts Court and the plantation held their ground and on February 14, 1639 it was provided that,—

“We the inhabitants of Agaam upon Quinnettecot, taking into consideration the manifold inconveniences that may fall upon us for want of some fit magistracy among us, being now by God’s providence fallen into the line of the Massachuset jurisdiction, and it being far off to repair thither in such cases of justice as may often fall out among us, do therefore think it meet by a general consent and vote to ordain, till we receive further directions from the General Court in Massachuset Bay, Mr. William Pynchon to execute the office of a magistrate in this our plantation of Agaam”.

On April 16, 1640, it was “ordered that the plantation be called Springfield”, in remembrance of Pynchon’s English home.

In 1644 the disillusioned promoters of the Saybrook plantation sold out to the Connecticut Colony and, to provide means for financing the transaction, a duty was proposed on all exports passing out of the river. Such an impost would have been extremely costly to Pynchon, who was the largest single shipper on the river. On June 17, 1645, the Massachusetts General Court served notice of its refusal to abide by such an arrangement and proposed to retaliate by exacting an import duty on all Connecticut merchandise reaching Boston. The dispute waxed loud and long and was eventually referred to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who in 1650 begged that it “be spared all further agitation concerning Springfield”. Thomas Hooker had then been dead for three years and the issue dropped out of sight from mere lack of fuel to feed the flames.

More than forty years prior to the well-known outbreak of witchcraft excitement at Salem, Springfield had a similar experience.

On September 15, 1745, Pynchon sought advice from his friend, John Winthrop the elder, regarding the marital affairs of two of his flock, telling of Mary Lewis, wife of “one Lewis, a papist”.

“She has been above seven years separated from her husband, and is persuaded by others that she may marry by the laws of England. She is easily persuaded to that because she lives under temptations of desire of marriage and lately she has fallen into a league of amity with a brickmaker of our town. I gave you what light I could in the case and desired you to take advice at the Court what I may do in this case if she desires to be married. She hopes that you will give her liberty to marry in some short time and therefore your answer to my letter requires more haste”.

On November 4, 1645, Pynchon reported to Winthrop that “Mary Lewis is now newly married to a brickmaker”.

Hugh Parsons, the brickmaker and Mary Lewis were married at Springfield on October 27, 1645, and to them a daughter was born August 7, 1646. On June 8, 1648, they had a son Samuel, and October 26, 1650, a son Joshua; both sons dying in infancy.

The birth and death of her two sons were reflected in the mental state of the mother, whose condition was aggravated by the attitude of her contentious, ill-natured husband, who quarreled with his neighbors and associates, and threatened with dire consequences all who crossed him. Eventually his wife accused him of witchcraft, and the death of their son by devilish arts.

A number of hearings were held before Magistrate Pyncheon at which the testimony related to nonsensical and trivial happenings. Lights had been seen on the marsh; milk had turned yellow; knives had disappeared; flashes of light came from a red cotton waistcoat. Jonathan Taylor told of a dream in which three snakes appeared upon the floor, one of them with black and yellow stripes. Martha and Rebecca Moxon, daughters of the minister, were taken with fits. There were tales of people who prowled about the town "sometimes like cats and sometimes in their own shape".

In March, 1651, the husband was sent to Boston for trial, but the Court refused to convict him and, though he was wholly cleared, he never returned to Springfield.

Mrs. Parsons finally declared herself under the influence of Satan and confessed to the murder of her youngest child. The General Court refused to believe her a witch, but accepted her confession of murder and sentenced her to be hanged.

By the irony of fate, at the session of the General Court that confirmed the death sentence of Mary Parsons, William Pyncheon himself appeared to answer to grave charges. He had long been at variance with the established order on certain theological points and had embodied his conclusions in a book published in England in 1650, under the title of *The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption*.

The book was received in Boston in October of that year and was promptly brought before the General Court, where the entire edition was ordered to be burned in the market-place the following day. The author was summoned to appear before the next General Court to answer to a charge of heresy. He did appear at that Court, held at Boston in May, 1651, where he was concerned with the trial of Mary Parsons who was sentenced to death on May 17th. Immediately thereafter the Court took up consideration of Pyncheon's case, and he offered a half-hearted retraction, acknowledging that his statements were not as explicit as might be wished. The Court considered that he was in a "hopeful way to give good satisfaction" and, out of consideration for "the present troubles of his family", permitted him to return home to ponder the matter, with the hope that further consideration would lead to a complete recantation.

His son's daughter, Mary Pyncheon, born the previous autumn, had become a victim of infantile paralysis, and both mother and child were in grievous condition. Even a Massachusetts General Court, as then constituted, balked at kicking a man when he was down.

He was to reappear at the next General Court, which met on October 14, 1651, but that Court graciously allowed him another six



Home of Margaret Bliss at Main and Loring Streets, Springfield

Erected 1645. Demolished 1891. Front and side views.

months in which to renounce his heresy. Before that time elapsed he avoided the issue by returning to England, accompanied by his wife. Despite assertions to the contrary, the records offer ample evidence that Moxon did not depart for another year. In anticipation of such a move, on September 22, 1652, while still at Springfield, he executed a deed conveying all of his realty holdings to the inhabitants of the town. Thereupon he also proceeded to England, where he died September 15, 1687, at the age of eighty-five. He seems to have had no contact with Pynchon after leaving Springfield.

Pynchon's exit was so quietly made that it possibly was with the connivance of the authorities, who may have feared the outcome of the controversy they had initiated with one of his influence and resources. It has repeatedly been said that he slipped out in the dark of the night, sailing from Hartford on one of his own ships, manned by a crew of trusted servants. But such was not the Pynchon way. It was not as an idle gesture that William Pynchon appended the title "gentleman" to his name. In his mind, Pynchons were ever gentlemen and it did not become such to sneak out of a back door; they went by the front way and in the open daylight. By mere chance, the facts in this instance are available.

In the record of the session of the Suffolk County Court for October, 1673, is preserved the testimony in a suit brought by John Pynchon against Richard Collicott to recover on a debt long since due to the estate of William Pynchon. It concerned a horse, supplied the defendant by the elder Pynchon at Springfield in 1646. The details are of little interest except that Collicott testified to certain matters of which he "spoke with said Mr. Pynchon when he was in Boston, bound for England" and the records conclusively show that William Pynchon made no other journey to England during that period. Such evidence cannot be gainsaid. Boston was his port of departure and his associates had due notice of the fact. He had no more fear of a Puritan divine than he had of a wild Indian, and the latter fear simply did not exist.

The reason generally ascribed for his going was fear of persecution due to the publication of his book, but there seem to have been other reasons. His business had grown to such proportions that a resident manager in England would be of distinct advantage, and that position he could most ably fill, while his son was well qualified to carry on at the producing end. Moreover, such residence in England would give to him the peace and opportunity for study and cultural pursuits which he craved, and which had been so long denied him during his voluntary exile in America. At this time, this was possible in England because the political situation which led to his exile had so changed when Cromwell came into power. New England had entered the most bigoted period in its history; the half-century which came in with the persecution of the Quakers and went out in a storm of witchcraft.

There is ground for suspicion that in his own mind, his sojourn was to be of a temporary nature, with the thought of leaving to time

the quieting of criticism of his liberal ideas. In 1652, apparently while living in England, he published his second book, *The Jewes Synagogue*, the title page of which reads, "by William Pynchon of Springfield in New England," indicating that he even then considered America his real abiding place.

Against this theory is the argument that before leaving, he disposed of all his property in New England. It is true that on April 17, 1651, he deeded his mill property to his son and two sons-in-law. On the same day he executed a deed of gift, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the town, of the great tract between the Chicopee River and Willimanset Brook, which he had bought from the Indian, Nippumsuit, on April 20, 1641. On September 24th of the same year, 1651, he conveyed to his son John, all remaining lands and buildings in Springfield and along the river.

It is possible that these transfers were due to a fear of confiscation of his property, but in any event he was merely following a custom of the family and of the times. In the seventeenth century, a traveler, anticipating a long journey or a hazardous voyage, commonly conveyed his property to his family, by will or deed, possibly expecting it would be retrieved if he survived. John Pynchon, long before his death, passed his property on to his sons, and later generations of the family did likewise.

Certain facts, however, suggest that even before the advent of his book, he had been arranging his affairs for a long journey to England. A notation on the British Museum copy of the *Meritorius Price*, indicate that it was published June 2, 1650. It was received in Boston, "a few days" prior to October 16, 1650.

On April 22d and 29th, 1650, through agents in England, Pynchon had contracted with Hugh Dudley, James Wells and Edward Foster all of Barnet, in Hertfordshire, to come to New England and serve him for five years from the date of their arrival, which came to be July 2, 1650. On September 9, 1650 he assigned the Dudley and Wells contracts to Henry Smith, and on the same date, Foster was assigned to Elizur Holyoke. It is of course possible that in this entire procedure he was merely using his facilities to secure servants for others, and that his original agreements were actually on behalf of his two sons-in-law.

It is more significant that, on October 15, 1650, he assigned to Benjamin Cooley the three and a half years remaining to him of Samuel Terry's time.

The weight of the evidence indicates that William Pynchon originally planned but a temporary stay abroad. Possibly he found that his representation of the business in England was even more desirable and necessary than he had anticipated. Certainly he found England under Cromwell a pleasanter home than was New England under the bigoted rulers who had come into power.

Of the 1650 edition of Pynchon's book, five copies are known; one privately owned, known as the Hollingsworth copy, and one each in the British Museum, the Congregational Library in Boston, the New

York Public Library and the Connecticut Valley Historical Society in Springfield. This latter copy was Number 644 in the Brinley Sale in 1879, and was bought by the Hon. H. S. Sheldon of West Suffield, Connecticut. William Pynchon's son John had a daughter Mary, who in turn had a daughter Mary, who married August 19, 1694, Joseph Sheldon, of Suffield. This would seem to explain the Sheldon interest in the book.

In 1892 H. S. Sheldon sold the Brinley copy to Dr. Thomas R. Pynchon, one time president of Trinity College, Hartford. At that time the price was reported to be \$500. For some time thereafter it was deposited as a loan with the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford, but in 1936 the Pynchon heirs made an outright gift of it to the Connecticut Valley Historical Society of Springfield.

The John Carter Brown Library at Providence has a similar copy, but dated 1652. A comparison gives assurance that the later edition was made up of previously unbound sheets of the first edition, with the inclusion of a new title page. It is conclusive that Pynchon's retractions were made with his tongue in his cheek and that, on reaching England, he figuratively thumbed his nose across three thousand miles of ocean and brought out a second edition without altering a single expressed opinion.

From its inception the Agawam plantation was an enterprise designed to be, as in fact it was, conducted as a one-man affair. As long as William Pynchon remained, it was under his direct control.

The earliest town order provided, in October, 1636, that the tract from Mill River to John Reader's lot (now the Railroad Arch) should be "appointed for house lots, no trees to be cut down by any man" on any part of it. The few stately elms of that residential area were in no way reminiscent of the elms of Old England, yet they were things of beauty to be preserved for the pleasure of the whole. In 1638 a foot-path was provided across the house lots and "next the great river". To make this feasible, stiles were installed at each division fence.

In 1638 land was reserved for a road across the marsh in the vicinity of Court Square, but the steep hill east of the marsh made such a road impracticable. Two years later a similar attempt was made where Harrison Avenue now is, but that also was abandoned for the same reason. The south line and course of Harrison Avenue were established on that 16th day of May in 1636, when the first house lots were assigned. This was also true of the north line of Worthington Street and the south line of Bridge Street, for the lines of division then established between those house lots have remained constant to the present day.

With a single exception the course and direction of every Springfield street between Main Street and the River were determined during the first decade after the settlement of the town. That exception was Fremont Street, the reason being, that in 1768, Timothy Bliss, owner of a sizeable tract there, gave a large share of his holding to his son as a wedding gift. That he might retain a section

on which a barn stood, he made a diagonal division of the property and future divisions were controlled by that same oblique line. That Fremont Street of today meets Main Street with the acute angle that it does, is simply because nearly two centuries ago Timothy Bliss was in need of a barn.

The "great river", the Connecticut, was a most important feature of the settlement. Before wheeled vehicles became common, the River rather than the Town Street, was the common highway. Until that Street was extended south across the marsh the only means of reaching the corn-mill on Mill River was by water.

After the Indians had gathered their crops from the fields in the Agawam meadows, the cattle of the English were put over for pasturage, followed in acorn time by the swine. Such transportation must have been in cumbersome scows, but for their personal use the settlers provided canoes of the pattern used by the local natives. These were made from hollowed out logs and there was such a scarcity of trees suitable for this use that their cutting was restricted by drastic town orders. In the Springfield records there is but one mention of a birch bark canoe and that one obviously was brought in from the north, as the canoe birch did not grow to a size sufficient for such construction south of Brattleboro, Vermont.

Quite early a primitive bridge and foot path gave access to the corn-mill, but the first major town improvement was the extension of Main Street to the south, beyond York Street, when in March, 1643, a bridge and corduroy road were built across the brook and marsh to provide a cartway to the mill. This was called the Lower Causeway, and became South Main Street.

In 1648 some further outlet across the marsh was found to be imperative, and a toll road was built which was known as the Middle Causeway and became State Street. When that road was continued up the hill to join the Bay Path it bore abruptly to the south, east of Maple Street, to avoid the steep grade, continued easterly via the ravine still existing between State and High streets, and met the present State Street line beyond the hill crest. Still later the line of the roadway approximated the line of the Armory fence; the present roadway being quite modern. The dirt removed when State Street hill was brought to its present slope, was used to fill the pond at Avon Place and make possible the roadway there.

On December 24, 1640, Samuel Hubbard was "appointed to keep an ordinary for the entertainment of strangers". This was on Main Street at Howard. In 1646 Robert Ashley succeeded as innkeeper and in 1660 he gave way to Samuel Marshfield. In 1666 Nathaniel Ely took over and operated the inn until it was destroyed by the Indians on October 5, 1675. Nathaniel Ely died on Christmas day of that year, but the inn was at once rebuilt by his son Samuel. The building was later removed to Dwight Street, where it was a familiar sight at the corner of Sanford Street until it was demolished in 1894.

In 1644 the town bought from Thomas Stebbins one and one-half acres and from Francis Ball one acre at the river end of their house lots, to provide a combined cemetery and training field. The plot was used for exercising the local military company until 1674 when, additional space being required, there was appropriated for the purpose, a tract of land on the hill that eventually became the United States Armory grounds.

This "burying ground" west of the church, at the foot of Elm Street, continued in use for two centuries. No stones marked the earlier graves, for no lasting stone was then to be had in the community. In the following century it was found feasible to bring from Middletown, Connecticut, a hard brownstone suitable for grave markers; but locally the seventeenth century knew them not. There remains today a stone that marked the grave of Mary Holyoke who died in 1657, but the workmanship of the stone is actually of a much later date. The elaborate brownstone memorial that marked the Pynchon lot is known to be a scant hundred years old; the stone itself being so dated.

There the bodies rested until the coming of the railroad in 1849, when, to make way for the tracks, the remains of 2,404 bodies and 517 markers were removed to the Springfield Cemetery on the hill, that had been opened in 1841. Dr. Joseph C. Pynchon, who then had charge of the removal of the Pynchon bodies, said thirty-six years later,—

"Beneath the Mary Holyoke stone, dated 1657, deep in the white sand, six feet below the surface, were found the remains of two, lying side by side, with no others in close proximity. Is it too much to conjecture that these were the remains of Elizur and Mary Holyoke? The sand was discolored and some few pieces of the skulls and other bones were found while even the nails of the coffins were wholly destroyed, their places being marked by the rust only, while no other vestige of the coffins remained. The few remains were gathered, which soon crumbled to dust on exposure to the air and with the surrounding earth, were deposited in the new cemetery".

Dust had returned to dust.

The contents of all the earlier graves had wholly disintegrated, leaving not a trace. Such a condition indicates that the bodies were then not buried clothed, as today; otherwise some evidence might have remained. Pilfered shoe-buckles and buttons are frequently found in Indian graves as old as those, though it is of course true that the place of interment chosen by the natives would have been in a soil having far greater preservative qualities than the damp soil by the river bank. Clothing was then far too valuable to have been disposed of in such a way. Contemporary inventories include odds and ends of wearing apparel that one would now think fit only for a rummage sale. Rural New England people can recall the times when a man would be deposited in his coffin, lacking trousers and shoes. It was just a bit of New England "nearness". The absolute



House Formerly on Cross Street, Springfield
Erroneously said to be home of William Pynchon.

lack of identifying articles in the graves of the old cemetery indicates that the bodies were laid to rest, wrapped in a winding sheet or shroud.

In 1640 Elizur Holyoke married Mary Pyncheon and acquired the house lot (Worthington to Bridge Streets) next south of Pyncheon's which had been Jehu Burr's. He came to be one of the pillars of the community and a great comfort to his father-in-law.

Four years later Capt. William Davis, apothecary, married Margaret Pyncheon and carried her away to his Boston home.

The following year John Pyncheon married Amy Willys of Hartford. On October 30, 1645 William Pyncheon wrote Governor Winthrop,—“My only son is now married and he hath brought home his wife this day to my house where he may continue as long as he finds it for his comfort and benefit”.

At the turn of the half-century, Pyncheon could view the prospect with equanimity. The future of his plantation seemed assured. In the hands of his English agents were bills of exchange and credits for substantial sums, the proceeds of his trading operations. His three daughters were in comfortable circumstances. His able son and two competent and sympathetic sons-in-law had been trained in his own ways. The town was inhabited by its full quota of fifty families and Longmeadow gave promise of duplicating the accomplishments of the mother town.

He was sixty years of age and had earned a rest after twenty years in America.

The last entry in his hand on the pages of the Court Record was dated October 25, 1650. On January 30, 1651, the town appropriated £5 to reimburse “Mr. Pyncheon for the meeting house bell”. That was the final appearance of his name on the town records. His work was done.

William Pyncheon was going home.

CHAPTER XXI

Longmeadow

AT AGAWAM, on May 14, 1636, there gathered eight men, "being all the first adventurers and subscribers for the plantation" to organize their body-politic. In view of the changed conditions due to the enforced removal to the east side of the Connecticut, the question of provision for their cattle loomed large in their minds, and of the fifteen by-laws adopted, four were related to the control of the remaining pastures,— "the cow pasture to the north of End Brook, lying northward from the town; the pasture called Nayas, toward Patuckett on the side of Agawam, lying about four miles above in the river and the Long Meadow called Masacksic". It was agreed that "the Long Meadow called Masacksic, lying in the way to Dorchester (Windsor) shall be distributed to every man as we shall think meet, except as we shall find other conveniency for some of their milch cattle and other cattle". The Long-Meadow was thus early recognized as being too valuable to be divided without full consideration of the benefits to all.

In the purchase deed from the Indians, the description of the land is most inadequate. Of that on the east side of the Connecticut, but one bound is given; the Chicopee River at the north. The Connecticut was of course the westerly bound and the easterly limits were later construed to be five miles from that River. The southerly bounds apparently were understood to be at Raspberry Brook, at the lower end of the Long-Meadow, for eventually it was so agreed.

Indian bounds were usually at a stream,—a defensive barrier to people who relied so much on bows, the strings of which were not friendly to water. Moreover, such water bounds were always at points where the character of the land showed a distinct change. No meadow brook (except later, when small tracts were sold) was designated as a boundary. In Longmeadow, neither Cooley Brook nor Wheelmeadow Brook would have been so designated, for conditions there were identical on both sides of the streams. But at Raspberry Brook, the meadow terminated and up the hill to the south were the great plains where Enfield now is. At the north, the Long-Meadow ended at the narrow pass below the misnamed King Philip's Stockade, just easterly of which, Pecousic separated Masacksic from Usquaiok. There the hill fell so abruptly to the river that the road from Spring-

field to Longmeadow, completed in 1647, was from necessity on the very bank of the river. When, in 1658, John Lombard received a five acre grant of the most northerly bit of the meadows then remaining, it was a triangular piece of land, the point of which intruded itself into the narrow pass. So limited was the area, that the grant was made with the proviso that the highway should always be allowed for, "whatever the river may eat out". Today, the railroad tracks completely occupy the restricted area. It was an ideal Indian ambush point and there is where John Keep was slain in 1676. As in the minds of the Indians, the Long-Meadow ended northerly at Pecousic, so it also did in the minds of the English and when, in 1713-1714, Longmeadow became a separate precinct, the division was made at Pecousic. It so remained until June 2, 1890, when, in order that contemplated additions to Forest Park might be included in the Springfield area, the present division was established.

When the eight pioneers gathered at Agawam they committed their plans to a writing that they severally signed. Following the preamble was an affirmation of their intention to establish a church "as soon as we can".

Then followed this significant clause,—

"We intend that our town shall be composed of forty families, or, if we think meet after, to alter our purpose, yet not to exceed the number of fifty families, rich and poor".

The assessment list of 1647 probably closely represents a census of the inhabitants of Springfield in 1645. This being of such importance in the story of Longmeadow, it is here given in full. No lots had then been assigned to Francis Pepper, John Burrall, Abraham Munden or William Jess. The latter two did not long remain a factor to be considered for they were both drowned in the Connecticut River on October 29, 1645. On the Way to the Upper Wharf (now Cypress Street) from west to east, were Rowland Thomas, John Stebbins and Miles Morgan. On the town street, beginning at the present Cypress Street and so south to the Way to the Lower Wharf, (York Street), were the following, in this order, from north to south:

Thomas Cooper	Samuel Wright
William Pynchon	Henry Burt
Elizur Holyoke	John Harmon
Henry Smith	Roger Pritchard
George Moxon	Nathaniel Bliss
Samuel Chapin	Edmund Hayes
Thomas Reeve	Widow married George Langton
Richard Sikes	Thomas Thompson
William Warriner	Sold out to widow Margaret Bliss
Thomas Stebbins	Richard Exell
Francis Ball	Sold out to widow Margaret Bliss
Robert Ashley	Joseph Parsons

John Leonard	John Matthews
Thomas Merrick	William Branch
James Bridgman	George Colton
Alexander Edwards	Griffith Jones
John Clark	Reice Bedortha
John Dibble	Benjamin Cooley
Morgan Jones	Hugh Parsons
Rowland Stebbins	John Lombard

Here were forty-four inhabitants. Not only was the fifty-family limit being approached but younger sons were nearing maturity. Longing eyes were being cast at the alluvial expanse of the Long-Meadow, which in spite of all appeals had been sternly held in common for pasturage for nearly a decade. At the Long-Meadow were physical conditions quite similar to those in the town proper. In the town was a quarter-mile strip of hard ground by the river. East of it was a wet marsh extending easterly to the hill or river terrace. Undoubtedly this marsh was the remains of a prehistoric river bed. At the Long-Meadow was a riverside strip of arable ground though apparently of a lesser width. Between that and the hill to the east was another old river bed, which at that time was a series of bogs called "ponds". A photograph taken in the meadows today, with the river on the west, the marsh bordering the dirt road, and the hill on the east, would well represent Springfield three hundred years ago.

At a Town Meeting, held May 1, 1645, it was ordered that Elizur Holyoke, Thomas Merrick, Francis Ball and Thomas Stebbins should "speedily take a view of the long-meadow and what other grounds they shall think meet for future distributions".

That they complied with their instructions to act "speedily" is evidenced by the fact that the following week, May 7, 1645, an abortive attempt was made to make a distribution of portions of the Long-Meadow among the townsmen, but strong opposition developed to details of the plan then suggested, and all proposals were vetoed.

On May 19, 1645, an attempt was made to reconcile warring factions and it was agreed to divide the town into two parts, based on taxable wealth; those of the northern part to participate in a distribution of the Plain-field, north of the town, while those of the southern part were to share the Long-Meadow. The division came to be made between Robert Ashley and John Lombard,—that is, at the present State Street. The *Book of Possessions* gives evidence that no participation was had in the Long-Meadow distribution of that date by Robert Ashley or those north of him, while John Leonard and all those south of him did share in it.

That was the birth of Longmeadow,—the first distribution of those acres as far as individual propriety is concerned and the following twenty-five individuals then became the original proprietors, in the order here named, from north to south. It is of interest how many of these grantees were heads of prominent Longmeadow families of after years.

John Leonard	11½	acres	Bought by Benjamin Cooley
Thomas Merrick	17	“	Bought by Benjamin Cooley
George Bridgman	14	“	Bought by Benjamin Cooley
Alexander Edwards	18	“	
John Clark	10¼	“	
John Dibble	10	“	
Widow Katherine Jones	6	“	
Rowland Stebbins	13½	“	
Samuel Wright	15½	“	
Henry Burt	18	“	
John Harmon	15	“	
Roger Pritchard	7½	“	
Nathaniel Bliss	19½	“	
George Langton	13	“	
Margaret Bliss	19½	“	
Richard Exell	4	“	
Joseph Parsons	5	“	
John Matthews	5	“	
William Branch	5	“	
George Colton	13	“	
Griffith Jones	6½	“	Bought by Benjamin Cooley
Reice Bedortha	5	“	Bought by Benjamin Cooley
Benjamin Cooley	9	“	
Hugh Parsons	7	“	
John Lombard	5	“	
<hr/>			
	272¾	“	

As in the town, south of John Lombard's lot, was a lot granted to William Pyncheon on account of his mill, so at the Long-Meadow a lot was granted to Pyncheon south of the Lombard grant. This came to be known as the "Mill Lot" though there was no mill there. This grant seems to have been of fifty two acres, making a total of 324¾ acres; just a fraction over one-half a square mile, or about one-third of the total area of the meadows. The section granted came to be known as the "Upper Field" and as grants were later made in the southerly section, that was called the "Lower Field".

One provision of the first attempts to allot the planting grounds of the Long-Meadow is helpful in determining the original location of the proprietors there. In the "disannuled" proposal of May 7, 1645, it was designed that the "allotments in the long meadow shall lie in this order. Mr. Pyncheon's Mill Lot (*i. e.*, the "dividend" accruing to the mill lot south of John Lombard's lot in the town plot) shall be laid out about the knapp of pines by the river side and so all other allotments are to lie in order upward as the house lots lie in order".

In some cases the location of dividends was decided by lot,—a drawing of numbers. Otherwise allotments were invariably made in the order of the location of the grantees on the town plot. So universal

was this custom that in the absence of other specification one may feel confident that this part of the proposal of May 7, 1645, was included in the final agreement of May 19th. Many later transactions show conclusively that this is the order in which the Long-Meadow grants were made.

The following entries in the records being the key pieces necessary for locating the earliest Longmeadow grants, they are here given verbatim:

“John Leonard is possessed of a planting lot in the Longmeadow eleven acres and half, more or less, in length 60 rods, lying on the outside of the Longmeadow fence, homeward.”

“This eleven acres and one half is by John Leonard sold and fully passed away to Benjamin Cooley this 13th January, 1657/58.”

“Benjamin Cooley is possessed by purchase from John Leonard of eleven acres and half of land in the Longmeadow lying on the outside of the fence northward. Breadth, 32 rods, length from the Great River eastward 60 rods, bounded south by Thomas Merrick.”

“Thomas Merrick is possessed of a planting lot in the Longmeadow being 17 acres more or less, extending from the Great River eastward to the backer fence, bounded by John Leonard north, by James Bridgman south.”

“This 17 acres is by Thomas Merrick sold and fully passed away to Benjamin Cooley this 2d day of February, 1658/59.”

“Benjamin Cooley is possessed by purchase from Thomas Merrick of seventeen acres more or less extending in length from the Great River eastward to the backer fence, bounded by the eleven acres above said which Benjamin Cooley is possessed of by purchase from John Leonard.”

“Also of fourteen acres next adjoining it on the south by purchase from Samuel Marshfield.”

Thomas Merrick's deed in confirmation of a verbal sale made “many years since” is dated September 27, 1679 and describes the tract as being “a little below Ensigne Cooley's house and bounded on the north by the land which Ensigne Cooley is possessed of by purchase from John Leonard and on the south by land which was Samuel Marshfield's.”

“James Bridgman is possessed of a lot of planting ground in the Longmeadow, fourteen acres more or less extending in length from the Great River to the back fence east, bounded north by Thomas Merrick, south by Joseph Parsons.”

“This fourteen acres is passed away to Samuel Marshfield and by him passed away to Benjamin Cooley this 2d February, 1658/59.”

May 17, 1656,—“There was granted to Benjamin Cooley ten acres of land adjoining unto the parcel of land formerly granted to John Leonard, adjoining to the hither end of said meadow, provided the said Benjamin do allow a cart way of four rod broad.”

“Benjamin Cooley is possessed by the grant of the plantation of ten acres of land more or less lying on this side of the Longmeadow adjoining to the land which Benjamin Cooley hath bought of John Leonard, which lies on the south side of this ten acres and it is bounded by John Lombard on the north of it. Length from the Great River, eastward to the brow of the hill, there being a sufficient highway through it.”

September 10, 1656, —
 “There is granted to John Lombard the remainder of the land betwixt great hill and Benjamin Cooley’s his lot above upperside, provided he be no detriment to the highway.”

“John Lombard is possessed of a parcel of land at the hither end of the Longmeadow, about four or five acres, bounded by Benjamin Cooley south, north and west by the highway, east by the hill and the way, bringing it almost to a sharp point on the north. The grant is upon condition it prove no detriment to the highway so that the highway is reserved forever to be sufficient whatever the river may eat out.”

“This lot of four or five acres is fully passed away by David Lombard to Obadiah Cooley.”

“Obadiah Cooley is by way of exchange with David Lombard, land for land, possessed of about four or five acres of land at the higher end of Longmeadow, bounded south by land that was Benjamin Cooley’s, west and north by the highway and east by the hill, the highway to be allowed whatever the river may eat away.”



Cooley Brook, Longmeadow

Actual measurements determine that the Marshfield-Bridgman tract was well south of Cooley Brook and that Benjamin Cooley acquired all of the meadow by the River, from far below the brook up to the last triangular five acre bit, later secured by his son Obadiah.

As first laid out, the southerly course of Springfield's Town Street ended at "the way to the lower wharf", now York Street, the Town Brook and the swamps about it making further progress to the south impractical. Quite early, a foot bridge was provided across the Brook and the adjacent morass to give access to the corn-mill on Mill River. On March 9, 1642/43, "a bridge and highway to the mill, for the passage of carts and cattle" was ordered, necessitating the building of a corduroy road across the marsh and a bridge over the Mill River.

Three years later, to make the Long-Meadow section accessible to teams, on January 8, 1645/46, Thomas Merrick and Joseph Parsons were delegated to "make a way from the Mill River to the Long-meadow" where allotments had been made the year before. Evidently the project was greater than anticipated, possibly because of bridging Pecousic Brook, for on November 2, 1646, the supervisors were admonished to see that it was finished by the last of May, 1647.

The completed road, however, ended at the Longmeadow, and it was only gradually extended to Freshwater (now Enfield) as that section became settled, and a road became necessary. The town budget of January 30, 1650/51 included an item of "£10 to the cartway to the foot of the falls" at Warehouse Point, so as to avoid the bringing up of freight by water, over the rapids and shoals.

In 1664 this section of road was established as a part of the County Road from Hadley to Windsor, via "the lower end of Springfield to Longmeadow Gate and from the lower end of said meadow into Freshwater River (Enfield) so called, and from thence to the dividing line between the colonies" which was then twenty rods south of the warehouse at Warehouse Point.

Just as the bridge to Brooklyn is the Brooklyn Bridge, so the bridge giving access to Longmeadow was known as the Longmeadow Bridge,—the bridge across the Pecousic.

Presumably, when, in 1647, Thomas Merrick and Joseph Parsons completed "the way from the Mill River to the Longmeadow", such a bridge was included, for on February 13, 1656/57, George Colton was granted "about a dozen acres of land by the Great River side about three quarters of a mile below Longmeadow bridge betwixt the brow of the hill where the cart way now goeth and the Great River."

It evidently was a rather primitive bridge of logs which was so ravaged by the turbulence of the brook as the snows melted in the spring that the bridge was later raised above the flood by stone abutments.

On February 11, 1660/61, for the "carrying on the work of Long Meadow bridge, the selectmen did conclude that George Colton and Rowland Thomas shall, as soon as the snow is off the ground, go down and see where the stones may be had easiest and whether they must cart them or fetch them by boat and Benjamin Cooley and Rowland Thomas shall see to the carrying on the work".

In many New England towns building construction was strongly influenced by an abundance of stone, but in Springfield it was equally

influenced by an almost utter lack of it. The town proper, the meadows west of the Connecticut, the Long-Meadow were almost devoid of it. One exception was the red sandstone in the bed of Mill River and at Pecousic, where there was a limited supply of stone too soft to be of great value and difficult to procure. With crowbars, beetles and wedges this was laboriously worked out for what value it had. At Pecousic the ledges extended well into the Connecticut. The late Everett H. Barney, who was intimately acquainted with the locality, often repeated stories of old people whom he had known as a boy, who told him that in olden days, in times of drought, it was often possible to wade entirely across the Connecticut on such stones. On February 10, 1652/53 the selectmen gave to Rowland Thomas "liberty to carry away those stones he hath dug in Powscowsack River by the end of June next; no man to molest him in the meantime, but in case he leave any after that time, it shall be free for any man to take them". On February 12, 1660/61 Samuel Marshfield was granted land on the north bank of the Pecousic Brook at its mouth, provided that any person might "have liberty to fetch stones from the flats in the Great River". Poor as was the product, it was about the only nearby source of supply.

The valley of the Pecousic is quite extensive, draining a considerable area so that the turbulence of the stream in the spring necessitated frequent repairs to the bridge. On February 5, 1666/67 it was "concluded that Long Meadow bridge shall be made with stone on each side of the brook for the timber work to lie upon". On April 24, 1685 "it was voted to allow Obadiah Cooley, Samuel Bliss, Jr. and Nathaniel Bliss, three pounds to repair the Long Meadow bridge in the country road, they laying five new sleepers of good sound timber and planking them with half trees and pinning them down with cross pieces and putting up poles by the sides of said bridge". On March 13, 1693/94, "Longmeadow bridge being said to be very defective or to want a new one, this affair whether to repair the old bridge or to make a new one is left with Nathaniel Burt, Senr. together with the surveyors of the highways". At the same time "Increase Sikes, Samuel Bliss, 3d, Samuel Ely and Daniel Beamon did desire of the town the stream of Pecousic brook to set a saw mill on and the low land for ponding and they promise to free the town from all charge as to maintaining Pecousic bridge", and on April 11, 1694 their desire was granted. Thereafter the term Longmeadow bridge gradually gave way to Pecousic bridge.

This was the first use made of the power at that point but the use continued for some two hundred years. A saw-mill there is shown on the 1831 map of Longmeadow. In Civil War days James Warner had a pistol factory there. Until nearly the close of the last century, the brick buildings of the Havemeyer papier-mâché factory were a familiar sight.

A knowledge of the four Longmeadow brooks,—Cooley Brook, Wheelmeadow Brook, Longmeadow Brook and Raspberry Brook, is

vital to an understanding of events there. All were such insignificant streams that one might walk across the meadows with no realization of their existence until he suddenly came upon them. Having no precipitous banks, it is doubtful if any of them except Raspberry Brook were even spanned by bridges in the early days, when no provision was required for the chaise or stage coach of a later era. A mere farmer could more easily drive his ox-team through the shallow water than he could provide logs for a bridge. All of the seventeenth century descriptions of the highway traversing the meadow are confined solely to references to the width of the road in the span between Longmeadow gate at the north and the southerly end of the meadow. Bridges over "gutters" were spoken of but none were mentioned that can be identified with these brooks. Surely some provision for the care of such bridges would have been included, had they existed. During the entire meadow period, Cooley Brook was not once mentioned in the records. Wheelmeadow was mentioned frequently but only once in connection with a brook.

Conditions were entirely different after removal to the hill in 1703, where the town street was intersected by the deep ravines of these water courses. They then became a noticeable and most annoying feature of the landscape; something to be reckoned with four-fold on a journey across the town. Thus they became known by familiar names.

On December 10, 1700, Isaac Colton was granted "twenty acres at Rasbury Brooke". Prior to that the stream had been known as Longmeadow Brook, for on October 12, 1670 Samuel Ely was granted "six acres of high land below Long Meadow Brooke near the Great River". Such a tract could have been adjacent only to the present Raspberry Brook. This application is confirmed by the record of the establishment of the town of Enfield, May 16, 1683, the north bound of which was designated, as being at "the mouth of Long Meadow brook below Springfield", and that was most definitely the present Raspberry Brook. On February 5, 1683/84 Samuel Bliss, Jr., petitioned for "twenty acres of low land upon Long Meadow Brooke, beyond Barke hall, on both sides of the brook". It is patent that this reference could be to none other than what is today known as Raspberry Brook, or a closely adjacent confluent.

The 1831 manuscript map in the Massachusetts Archives explains this situation. Longmeadow Brook, coming down through the ravine south of Bark Hall Road, on approaching the meadow, originally took an oblique course southwesterly and joined the present Raspberry Brook, they becoming one brook designated as Longmeadow Brook. At the point where the brook met the meadow, at Bark Hall, it was later artificially diverted north along the foot of the hill and then westerly to the river. The Longmeadow Brook, in its present course across the meadow, is a man-made canal, the abandoned course being indicated by dotted lines, and so designated. Hence the necessity for a name for the remaining part of the brook at the south, which was christened Raspberry Brook and is still so known.

It was the combined Longmeadow-Raspberry Brook, the most southerly of the four meadow brooks, that was referred to on January 6, 1678/79, when there was granted to Jonathan Burt, Sr., "a piece of land lying over the country (*i. e.* public) bridge at the lower end of Longmeadow". Reference to this same bridge and Brook was implied when, on May 21, 1680, "it was voted, that whereas, the bridge over Longmeadow brook was carried away or spoiled by the late flood, that a new bridge should be built in the old place".

The last definite reference to the meadow portion of Longmeadow Brook in the town records was on February 5, 1683/84. The first recorded reference to the depleted southern boundry-brook as Raspberry Brook, was on December 10, 1700. Sometime between these two dates the alteration in the course of the brook must have been made.

Early and frequent mention is found in the records of the Longmeadow Gate, reference usually being to the gate at the north end of the meadow. Some entries indicate that this was just west of the Longmeadow Bridge at Pecousic Brook while others seem to place it in the vicinity of Cooley Brook. The situation defies satisfactory analysis, but the evidence is here presented for what value it may have.

The earliest reference is that of March 14, 1653/54, when it was "ordered that the proprietors of the field in the long meadow shall make a sufficient cart gate at the bridge over the long meadow brook". It is obvious that this refers to the gate at the southerly end of the meadow.

On August 27, 1660, "Thomas Gilbert hath liberty granted him for building and dwelling on his land which he hath bought of Benjamin Cooley at the Longmeadow Gate". Unfortunately this is valueless as there is no record of such a sale and therefore it is impossible to locate the tract.

On February 19, 1661/62, it was "ordered that the highway from the town bridge by Thomas Bancroft's to Goodman Cooley's lot at the higher end of the Long meadow shall be four rod in breadth. It is to turn to the right hand on this side the first bridge and so there is to be made a bridge over that gutter to make the way more straight and to save charge of repairing those bad places where the way has usually been. Also the highway from the long meadow gate to the lower end of the Long meadow is to be four rod in breadth from the gate till it turns from the river into the lots and thence to the bridge it is to be two rod in breadth".

At that date Cooley owned up to the last five acre bit at the north end of the Long-Meadow. The foregoing would seem to mean that from the bridge in town to the Cooley tract the road was to be four rods wide. From the Longmeadow Gate it went through the narrow pass and turned southerly from the river to the Cooley lots and so through the meadows to the bridge at Raspberry Brook. Through the meadows it was to be but two rods wide as hard land there was too scarce and valuable to allow of a greater width. All of which

would seem to place the Gate at a point east of the narrow pass and close to Pecousic Brook,—which reasoning is flatly contradicted by other evidence.

The road-layout from Hadley to Windsor in 1664 mentions the Longmeadow Gate. The record describes this portion of it as,—“from the lower end of Springfield to Long meadow gate, running where it now doth, in breadth four rods, and from the Long meadow gate to the bridge at the lower end of and by the river bank shall be in breadth two rods and from the lower end of the said Meadow into Fresh Water River, so called (Enfield) as the way now runs, four rods”.

On January 11, 1668/69, provision was made for payment to “Ensigne Cooley for maintaining the water fence at long meadow gate”.

On May 28, 1679, it was agreed that “Benjamin Cooley would and should make and maintain the gate and water fence at the upper end of the Longmeadow for ever. Also, he shall have liberty, if he see meet, to translate that gate and water fence and whole cross fence, to the lower side of his son, Eliakim Cooley’s lot, provided it be no prejudice to the field”.

There is nothing obscure about that. Twenty-five years earlier, on March 7, 1653/54, Benjamin Cooley and George Colton had been appointed to supervise “a fence at both ends of the long meadow, betwixt the top of the bank down into the river, for the securing of the said field”. Cooley was now directed to build anew the fence across the highway at the upper end of the meadows, and extend it far enough into the deep water of the river so that cattle would not go around it. If he preferred to build it where the fence and gate had previously been, that would be perfectly satisfactory. If he found it more convenient and economical to transfer it to another point, that would be equally satisfactory, provided there was no inconvenience to the public.

Did he remove it from a point near Cooley Brook, to somewhere in the vicinity of Pecousic? Or vice versa? The records are silent on that point. But there is an equal lack of reference to a toll gate.

Longmeadow historians have contended that the Longmeadow Gate was at a bridge where the highway crossed Cooley Brook and that it was a toll gate for exacting a portion of the upkeep of the road from travelers between Hadley and Windsor. No evidence exists to support the latter contention. There is no reason for surrounding the Gate with the atmosphere of the entrance gate to a medieval walled city. Consideration of other gates about Springfield leaves one with the conclusion that the one at Longmeadow differed in no way from other purely farm gates, details of which are here assembled.

On April 23, 1669 it was ordered that “for securing the gate way or bars by the meeting house, Benjamin Munn, Serj. Stebbins, William Warriner and James Warriner are to take care and charge thereof”.

That same date it was agreed that "the gate at the higher wharf (now Cypress Street) being judged needful to be kept well hung and shut, that cattle may be kept from going to the river, it is ordered that all the neighbors from Deacon Chapin's upward shall take care of the said gate".

"And that something may be done at the lower wharf (now York Street) as to preventing cattle from pursuing the fields, either by making a gateway or otherwise. Anthony Dorchester is appointed to call the neighbors at the lower end of the town, to consider what may be advantageous."



Weather Cock of Longmeadow Church



*Weather Cock of First Church,
Springfield*

As the Long-Meadow was adjacent and convenient to the dwellers at the southerly end of the town street, they participated in its distribution. In a like manner "the cow pasture to the north of End Brook, lying northward from the town" became the property of the more northerly of the townsmen, and became known as the Plain Field, now crossed by Plainfield Street. For the protection of the Plain field a gate was earlier established at Round Hill. January 31, 1672/73 John Pynchon was "granted that little piece of land at the southeast end of Round Hill, provided a highway be left for passage to the Plain Gate". This gate remained well into the past century. Henry B. Rice (born 1821) in his latter years related, that as a youth he saw the fence and gate demolished for the opening of the new road, now North Main Street.

In 1673 Obadiah Cooley and David Lombard, who lived on opposite sides of the Way to the Lower Wharf (now York Street), had "liberty granted, for security of their own and the common fields to make a fence cross the highway to the lower wharf with a gate for passage through, who in consideration thereof, are to have the

privilege of the herbage of the said way to themselves, so long as they shall maintain such fence and gate to secure the fields”.

One reference to a gate illustrates the diplomacy with which the Indian question of the day was handled. On February 12, 1667/68 “it was ordered that whoever shall leave open, and not shut that gate by Thomas Miller’s when the field is closed, he shall pay to the use of the proprietors of land in that field, the sum of two shillings and six pence. Only, what Indians are culpable that way, they are to pay six pence a time, to the use of Thomas Miller, which he is to get of them, yet so that he make no trouble or disturbance in gaining it”.

Mention of a fence implied a gate,—a gate where the fence intercepted a highway. Such a fence was, in 1658, north of Cooley Brook when John Leonard sold to Cooley his land there “lying outside the fence northward”. Adjoining that tract on the south were the seventeen acres and the fourteen acres Cooley bought of Merrick and Marshfield. These two latter tracts comprised the thirty-one acres listed in the Cooley estate inventory in 1684 as being “within the gate”. Thus, in 1658 and in 1684, the fence and gate were in the vicinity and north of Cooley Brook and presumably were also there during the interim. If at any period they were at a point nearer to Pecousic Brook, that period must have been prior to 1658. Quite possibly it was so at an early date.

Apparently occupation of the Long-Meadow was delayed for a bit after the first grants were made, for not until November 3, 1646 was Thomas Cooper “appointed to measure out the meadow ground in the Long meadow”.

September 23, 1645, as “divers inhabitants have allotments of planting ground in the long meadow and some of them have manifested their desire to break them up the next spring and defend it with a sufficient fence against cattle but others are not yet willing”, certain regulations were made as to common fences.

By the spring of 1648 activities had been carried so far that, on March 1, 1647/48, George Colton and Thomas Merrick were chosen supervisors of fences for the district and, on April 7, 1649, provision was made for general fencing. On March 7, 1653/54 fences were ordered at both ends of the meadow.

It is impossible to determine just how early homes were built on the meadows, but certainly as early as 1649, as is shown by testimony in the Hugh Parsons hearing.

“February 27, 1650/51, Sarah, the wife of Alexander Edwards testified upon oath that about two years ago, more or less, Hugh Parsons, being then at the Long Meadow, came to her house to buy some milk”.

On March 18, 1650/51 George Colton testified upon oath that Hugh Parsons came into the long meadow when his child lay at the point of death and having word of the death of it the next morning by Jonathan Burt, he was not affected with it, but he came after a light manner, rushing into my house and said, I hear my child is

dead, but I will cut a pipe of tobacco first, before I go home. Hugh Parsons came to his house, he thinks, about eight o'clock in the morning". Joshua Parsons, the child in question, died March 4, 1651.

The Colton House and the Edwards House were both in the vicinity of the present Longmeadow Brook. The latter was shortly after sold to Joseph Parsons and thereafter it changed hands frequently. There is quite a little presumptive evidence indicating that these were the first homes built in Longmeadow.

Occupation proceeded to such an extent that on March 7, 1653/54 it was "ordered that no inhabitant dwelling in the long meadow should suffer their swine to go at liberty in the meadow without rings", complaint having been "made against the dwellers in the long meadow that much spoil is done both in meadow and corn land". On March 7, 1654/55 the selectmen ordered that "no householder in the long meadow shall suffer swine to go at liberty".

On August 27, 1660 "Thomas Gilbert hath liberty granted him for building and dwelling on his land which he hath bought of Benjamin Cooley at the Longmeadow Gate".

On December 31, 1660 "George Colton desiring liberty to build on his land at the Long meadow, had liberty granted him for erecting a building or dwelling place there".

On March 13, 1660/61 there was "granted to Benjamin Cooley, thirty acres on the east side of the swamp over against his house at the long meadow which land lies between two dingles and to run from the brow of the hill backward into the woods eastward till thirty acres be made up". This is the first recorded mention of a house in the Long-Meadow owned by Benjamin Cooley.

Just what was the intent of these building permits is a question, but there is reason for suspecting that they were often a mere white-washing of a prior act,—a legalizing of a condition already existing. An example is the act of December 26, 1678, when "all those persons who have builded up the ruins have their buildings allowed of". That of course was in the time of stress following King Philip's War, but it was not an uncommon custom even in normal times. As a whole, the permits give little information as to the actual date of building.

With characteristic deliberation, Benjamin Cooley seems to have been in no haste about removing to Longmeadow. His efforts in the town must have been greatly handicapped by the limitations of his little four acre tract there, even though that was supplemented by ten acres across the Connecticut and he would have profited by that experience. Though he did increase his nine acre Long-Meadow grant to twenty and a half acres, by purchase on December 2, 1651 from Reice Bedortha of the five acre tract adjoining it on the north, and also the Griffith Jones six and a half acre tract north of the latter, yet the location seems not to have been to his liking for a homestead. The witchcraft hearing testimony is evidence that in the spring of 1651 he still lived in the town, and his deposition concerning the

Parsons-Burt House suggests that at least as late as November, 1651, he continued there.

However, on May 17, 1656, he received a grant of ten acres at the northerly end of the Long-Meadow. Adjoining it on the south was the eleven and a half acre lot of John Leonard's, that he bought on January 13, 1657/58. South of that was the seventeen acre Merrick lot, as well as the fourteen acre Bridgman lot, both of which he bought February 2, 1658/59. Thus he owned fifty-two and a half acres in one piece.

With amazing perspicacity and an uncanny appreciation of the future, on March 13, 1660/61, he petitioned for and received a grant of thirty acres on the highland east of his house "from the brow of the hill, eastward into the woods until thirty acres be made up". On the same date Thomas Gilbert was granted twelve acres on the north of this Cooley grant. Gilbert sold to Marshfield who sold to Cooley. Thus did the Cooley family acquire the forty-two acres of land on the hill at the north end of the present town street that was occupied by later generations.

This home-farm was rounded out by the grant, on February 1, 1664/65, of seventeen acres of "pond" that lay "against his own land at the higher end of the long meadow, bounded by the brow of the hill",—that is, extending from his meadow, up the hill to join the thirty acre grant of 1660/61. The combined area comprised one hundred eleven and one-half acres in one compact parcel, extending from the river eastward to the top of the hill and continuing easterly into the woods.

On the Leonard lot he built the home in which he lived for the rest of his life. That lot he bought in 1658. The first mention of his house was in 1661. At some time during those three years the house was built. His boon companion, George Colton, received his Long-Meadow building permit on December 31, 1660. One can surmise that at that same time Benjamin Cooley completed his plans, and that the house was built about 1660.

Even then he must have considered the removal in the nature of an experiment, for though he rented his house in town to his neighbor Richard Sikes, it was not until January 12, 1667/68, that he actually sold him the town property.

For years the settlement continued in its own unobtrusive way. The handful of Indians were much in evidence on the street and in the houses; a pest to be endured. Real estate speculation was rife. Allotments were often sought solely as material for barter. Those intending permanent occupation of the meadows bought adjoining tracts of their neighbors. Grants were made of the swamps east of the meadow until, eventually, it must have been about all parceled out. Various attempts were made to drain the wet ground. Then, as now, ditches were all over the meadows, but the result was rather negative. Today, the swamps are much as they were in the days of the Indians,—a little more worthless, perhaps, for then they did at

least produce cranberries. In 1683 Benjamin Cooley, as one of the last acts of his life, essayed a rather elaborate drainage project, digging a ditch "a little above his house that he might lay dry that low and wet land behind his house". As it crossed the county road he was obliged to give a bond providing security against any damage that might accrue. A vestige of that ditch can be seen today. In 1695 Ebenezer Parsons and Henry Burt gave a bond in connection with a similar drain in another section of the meadows, but it was all rather futile.

On January 5, 1665/66, Nathaniel Burt, John Keep and George Colton were granted "ponds" adjacent to their lands. On February 1, 1665/66, Benjamin Parsons and John Bliss had similar ponds granted. On March 5, 1665/66, widow Margaret Bliss was granted "so much of the pond as is at the end of her lot". All of these grants were in the Long-Meadow and all were made with the proviso that "the Indians be not wronged in their pease", referring of course to cranberries, the *sasachiminesh* that they had reserved in the deed of 1636. Evidently these grantees were acquiring cranberry bogs and it would seem that in the language of the day, a bog was a pond.

In 1648 William Pynchon had said of the Indians,—“Until they have fully subjected themselves to your government, they must be esteemed an independent, free people”. The wise mentor had long since left the colony, but his precepts were still a guiding factor in the town. This regard for the rights of the natives continued to the very end, for on February 26, 1672/73, Samuel Bliss, Jr. was “granted so much of the pond as is against his land in the Long Meadow, provided the Indians be not hindered gathering pease in the pond”.

That was the last of such entries, for soon after, during King Philip's War, practically all of the natives deserted the Valley.

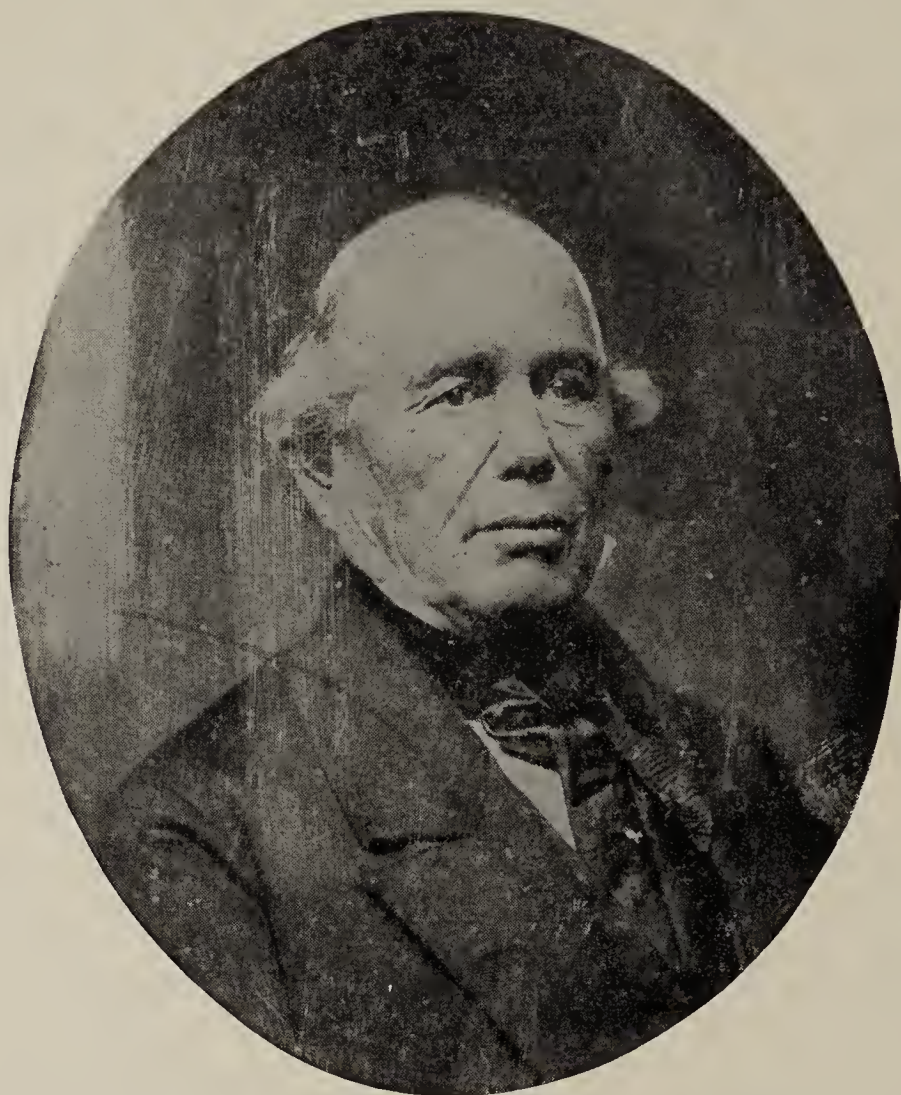
During the night of October 4, 1675, long after the settlers were asleep, a moccasin-footed messenger sped through the hamlet of Longmeadow. The Indian, Totoe, of Windsor, impelled by "the great respect and many kindnesses he had received and for the love he bore" to the English, was making his way to Springfield with a warning of impending danger. Incited by King Philip's successes, Wequogan the Hadley sachem, had the night before led by a winding path, with noiseless stealth, four score of his Indian warriors into the palisaded village that the English had built for their dusky neighbors on the reservation on Long Hill. There they joined the score of local Indians. Hidden by the stockade, the leader postponed for a day the sack of Springfield, to enable his scouts to retrieve from Hartford the hostages that the Springfield people had incarcerated there, and during the journey the native scouts had revealed their secret to Totoe, a Windsor Indian, a protege of the Wolcott family there.

The messenger, bearing the secret, hurried on.

As soon as news of the impending disaster was received, word had been sent to John Pynchon, then with the Colony forces at

Hadley, who brought his troopers to the rescue of his fellow townsmen before the close of the day, but he found his town a mere shambles.

Throughout those endless hours the Longmeadow settlers watched the smoke of the burning town in utter helplessness. Though neither



Eleazar Williams, One Time of Longmeadow

Reputed to be the lost Dauphin, Louis XVII of France. Photograph from life, 1851.

their lives nor their property were menaced on that fateful day, yet both watch and ward were kept in every household for many fearsome weeks.

The winter passed in a state of siege, but with the coming of the spring Longmeadow folk gradually ventured out again. On Sunday, May 20, 1676, John Keep, with his wife Sarah and their six months old son Jabez, started for Springfield. Jabez was born barely five weeks after the Springfield disaster, and this was the first Sabbath they had dared attempt his christening. All was well through the street of the hamlet. They passed the last house and hurried on through the fearsome narrow pass. As they approached the bridge

over the Pecousic, shots rang out. It was the end for father, mother and son.

With the death of King Philip in August, 1676, life in the Valley became quite normal; though it was another seventy-five years before rumors of impending danger ceased to be common.

Longmeadow strove to make itself an independent community. In 1693 application was made for the right to establish a saw-mill on Longmeadow Brook and the following year for one on Pecousic Brook. In 1694 "the inhabitants of Longmeadow desiring to get a school master to teach their children to read and write and so be exempted from paying to any such school master in the town, it was voted in the affirmative with the proviso that they pay their proportions with the rest of the town for a grammar school". In 1695 application was made for the use of Pecousic Brook for a corn-mill.

With the turn of the century there came to be an increasing interest in the lands on the high ground. Frequent applications were presented for grants variously described as on the hill; on the great hill; and on the plain.

"At a town meeting of the town of Springfield, January 29, 1702/03 the inhabitants of Longmeadow did present a petition that they would grant them land on the hill eastward of Longmeadow to build on for homelots". One of the principal causes was that "by reason of floods our lives be in great danger, our housing much damnified and many of our cattle have been lost". It has long been contended that this was due to a disastrous flood occurring in 1695 but no evidence of there having been such a flood is presented. It seems strange that if there had been such an experience that the settlers would have waited eight years before taking steps to avoid a similar disaster. For fifty-six years the meadows had been inhabited during which time but one mention was made in the records of such an episode. That was in the spring of 1680, when "the bridge over Long meadow brook was carried away or spoiled by the late flood". That bridge, however, was but a few logs over a brook that might have been carried out in the spring rains and does not of necessity have any reference to the river. In modern times the meadows are annually inundated but that may be entirely due to modern conditions. Before the extermination of the beaver and the destruction of their dams on the upper waters there may not have been any such floods as are common today. On November 21, 1685, Increase Mather wrote from Boston to Rev. Thomas Gouge, pastor of an English Church in Amsterdam, Holland, saying that "in Connecticut on August 13, there happened a dreadful flood. The water rose twenty-six feet in a few hours so that their corn and hay is almost destroyed in those towns which border upon the river and the poor people there reduced to great extremities. The good Lord have compassion on them". It can safely be assumed that by "those towns which border upon the river", Mather referred to Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield. Twenty-six feet of high water there would have meant flood condi-

tions in Longmeadow. Evidence exists to show that the greatest flood in the valley, prior to the so-called Jefferson flood of 1801, began February 24, 1692, and did great damage. Perhaps the older generations took such episodes in their stride while the sons rebelled against repeated undoings which doubtless increased in intensity with the years, as the natural conditions were altered. Until further evidence becomes available, some questions must remain unanswered.

In any event, at a town meeting, held on March 9, 1702-1703, "it was voted to give them liberty to build upon the hill eastward of the said Long-Meadow".

Such was the birth of the modern town.

In the nineteenth century, Longmeadow strove to utilize the potential power of its streams in the creation of a manufacturing community.

In 1848 Diamond Chandler began the manufacture of cloth-covered buttons. The following year he took into partnership, his son-in-law Nelson C. Newell, and the latter's elder brother Samuel R. Newell, under the firm name of D. Chandler & Co. By 1854 the company was doing an annual business of \$50,000, and employing forty hands. In 1864 the business was removed to Springfield, where, seventy years ago, it was the largest employer of labor in the city, being exceeded only by Smith & Wesson.

In 1838 Diamond Chandler began the manufacture of gold spectacles, and gold and silver thimbles. The business grew until it amounted to some \$20,000 annually. In 1847 he sold out to Jacob Colton and Gilson D. Hollister. Ninety years ago there were four shops manufacturing gold and silver spectacles. Sumner W. Gates employed ten hands and produced \$15,000 in finished goods annually. Ferry & Colton did about half that amount of business, and Samuel Burbank about the same. At that period Jacob Colton alone continued to make gold and silver thimbles and carried on quite successfully. As late as 1880 William H. Toppin made papier-mâché geographical globes in a brick factory at the mouth of Pecousic Brook.

But such things were just not on the cards for Longmeadow. In 1855, the novelist, J. G. Holland, then editor of the *Springfield Republican* said, that "within the last twelve years Longmeadow has become the residence of a considerable number of men of wealth and leisure and is largely represented abroad, in the world of letters by names of which she may well be proud".

Such a movement was given great impetus by the extension of the trolley facilities through to the state line in 1896. Then came the automobile, which has made the town the delightful residential section it has come to be.

CHAPTER XXII

An English Recluse

ON RETURNING to England, William Pynchon settled first at Hackney in Middlesex. Today, this is one of the slum districts of northeast London, but in the seventeenth century it was a residential suburb of the city, made up of the fine homes of wealthy London merchants. From there he oversaw the printing in London of a second book, *The Jewes Synagogue, by William Pinchion of Springfield in New England*, which obviously was penned while he was still living in America. Also while at Hackney, he issued the second edition of his first book, dated 1652. In 1654 there came another book from his pen, *The First Sabbath*.

In October, 1635, there had come into the port of Boston "two great ships", with a large group of Puritan emigrants. With them came young John Winthrop, with his newly-wedded second wife and the bride's step-father, the canting parson Hugh Peter, former pastor of the English church at Rotterdam, Holland. "There came also, Sir Harry Vane, a young gentleman of excellent parts"; stormy petrel of his day and age. The glamour surrounding one of title, together with his personal charm, made him right welcome, and the following spring, though but twenty-four years of age, he was elected governor of the Colony. Throughout a stormy administration, his sympathy for Ann Hutchinson and the Antimonians brought him into such disfavor that the following year he failed of re-election, and in August, 1637, he returned to England.

It was inevitable that William Pynchon, by virtue of his office and a common interest in a warfare for the rights of man, should have had many associations with such crusaders.

On reaching Hackney, Pynchon sought out his young friend Vane, who was so impressed with Pynchon's reasoning that on April 15, 1652, he wrote to the authorities at Boston, pleading for leniency for Pynchon and his book. On October 20, 1652, the Council replied that while "Mr. Pynchon was one that they did love and respect", yet the errors of the author were so apparent that they "should not need to make further defense" of their objections.

"John Norton, one of the reverend elders of Ipswich" had been drafted by the General Court to reply to Pynchon's contentions expressed in his book and in 1653 this was published under the title, *A Discussion of that Great Point in Divinity*. To this Pynchon made

rejoinder, which in 1655 was published in a volume of 440 pages as *The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption, by William Pynchon esquire late of New England*. That work ran to a second edition under the title, *A Further Discussion*.

Pynchon remained at Hackney for a year or more, and he evidently found satisfaction in English life, for on December 5, 1653, he



*William Pynchon Home,
Wraysbury, England, 1652*

bought from Andrew King, merchant of London, and Mary King, his wife, property at Wraysbury, by the Thames, in Buckinghamshire, twenty miles west of central London, and four miles east of Windsor. This property had in part been in the occupation and tenure of this Andrew King and in part of Thomas Blatt. The conveyance quieted also an interest or claim had by "William Sharrow of London, gentleman, James Sharrow, late of the Middle Temple, London, gentleman, deceased, brother of William Sharrow, and John Sharrow, gentleman, deceased, late father of William and James Sharrow". The property, as described, included the usual buildings and appurtenances, as well as gardens and a "part thereof planted with fruit trees and used for an orchard and one dovehouse lately built".

It is significant that the year and the month when Pynchon decided to remain permanently in England and so bought this estate was the year and the month when Cromwell became Lord Protector.

At Wraysbury he was joined by Henry Smith, who left his wife, Ann, a capable Pynchon daughter, to settle his New England affairs, having given her power of attorney to so do on October 17, 1653. Acting under this power, on August 18, 1654, she conveyed to her brother, John Pynchon, the Smith one-third interest in the mill property and practically all of Henry Smith's real estate holdings, whereupon she too departed for Wraysbury. There Pynchon's wife died, October 10, 1657, and there he lived until he died, October 29, 1662, and was buried in the adjacent churchyard.

John Pynchon's name appears on the Springfield records of September 10, 1656, and (with one exception) not again until November 3, 1657. That one exception reads, "November 4, 1656, Elizur Holyoke was chosen recorder till Mr. Pynchon's return or for the year ensu-

ing". On John Pynchon's ledger of that period, Robert Ashley was belatedly credited for "forty bushels of wheat delivered when I was in England".

John Pynchon was then thirty years old. He had left England at the age of four and could have retained little impression of its appearance. To him, houses were structures of wood, clay and reeds. He had little acquaintance with buildings more pretentious than was the tiny wattle-and-daub meeting house by the Connecticut. Now he was to see moated castles, drawbridges, towers, great halls, playhouses, theaters, pageants, and all the glitter and grandeur of the times. He was to ride in richly appointed coaches and canopied river boats. Gentlemen would be attended by lackeys and torch-bearers. There would be uniformed guards; bombardiers, musketeers and buffetiers. He would see Westminster Abbey, with its memorials to England's great. He would walk on velvet-like lawns in parks and formal gardens, amid strange trees and unique fountains. The austerity and Puritanism of the past decade had provoked a reaction that was fast becoming evident. Fashionable London was growing modern. In 1654 John Evelyn "observed how the women began to paint themselves, a thing formerly done only by prostitutes".

John Pynchon tarried at Wraysbury for the greater part of a year. He realized that in all human probability, this would be his last visit to his father, and he lingered on, loath to leave. There were renewals of old ties. Long evenings with his eldest sister, Ann, and her husband, Henry Smith. Visits with his stepmother. Days with his nieces and nephews, the Smith children. One of them, Elisha, born in England after his mother's return, he had never before seen. There were journeys to London with his father for conferences with fur dealers, bankers, merchants and shippers.

Then came farewells and departure and John Pynchon reached America in time for a last visit with his sister, Mary Pynchon Holyoke, who died October 26, 1657. He was later to receive the news that Frances Sanford Pynchon, his stepmother, had died at Wraysbury on the 10th of that same month.

From his quiet retreat at Wraysbury the elder Pynchon saw a mighty pageant pass before him, happenings such as his world had never known. Though he left little record of those events, one may, through the eyes of John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, see some of those things that were his to view, had he cared to look.

In 1656 Sir Harry Vane published a book called *A Healing Question, Propounded and Resolved*, that brought him four months' imprisonment in Carisbrooke Castle. One may well suspect that Pynchon had a part in the compiling of that book.

On September 3, 1658, "died that arch rebel, Oliver Cromwell".

On May 8, 1660, "his majesty was proclaimed in London". Then the mills of the gods began to grind and on October 11, 1660, "Hugh Peter was executed on the scaffold".

On June 30, 1661, "the carcasses of those arch rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw and Ireton were dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster Abbey and hanged on the gallows".

In 1661 John Winthrop made a long visit to England on business connected with securing a new charter for Connecticut. Though there is no evidence of the fact, it would have been most natural for him to seek advice of his old and trusted friend, who could supply first-hand evidence of facts that Winthrop was having trouble in confirming.

On June 14, 1662, "Sir Harry Vane died on the scaffold, justifying himself and the cause he stood for and showed more heat than cowardice, yet with all humility and gravity". That would have been a sad and thoughtful day for the Wraysbury squire.

In 1662 Pyncheon's last book was published, *The Covenant of Nature*. The "address to the reader" was dated "From my Study at Wraysbury, Feberary 10, 1661-1662". The author was then seventy-two years of age and it was destined to be his last year.

In the spring of 1663 the inevitable message arrived at the home in "Springfield on the Connecticut". The patriarch had died the previous autumn at Wyrardisbury (as the purist spelled the name that he pronounced Wraysbury), but during the winter months there was but scant opportunity for transmitting letters overseas, and the sending of the message was delayed until February when Henry Smith wrote as follows:

"Dear Brother Pynchon:

"Our most cordial love and respects salute you and yours joying in the continuance and extension of the goodness of God toward you all as by your letters received appears. Sir, the only wise Lord in whose hand is all our ways and times, all whose works are done in wonderful and admirable council, are very just, holy and good even when they seemingly speak forth to us the sharpest and sorest trials, crosses and temptations (as to Abraham when to offer up his only son Isaac) daily instructeth us both by his word and works to live in a daily expectation of and preparation for changes in this our pilgrimage. It's his usual course of dealing with all his Saints to give them occasions of daily exercise of those precious graces (the work of his holy spirit in their hearts) which else would contract rust, or lie in obscurity, not shining forth so splendid and beauteous to the praise of his glorious grace in Jesus Christ. The decree of God hath limited us our stations so our times and days beyond which we cannot, may not pass. The same is manifested in his late visitation upon your and our most loved and much honored father who expired and drew his last breath in Wyrardisbury October 29th, a loss to us unrepairable, a gain to him inexpressible, making a blessed change from earth to heaven, from a state of corruption, to a state of incorruption, from imperfection to perfection; from a state of sin and sorrow to completed joy and bliss, celebrating the everlasting praises of God and of the Lamb, who hath redeemed us with his blood. Brother, I presume you are not altogether unprepared for these sad tidings which I am occasioned as one of Job's messengers to acquaint you with, resolving all your thoughts and griefs into that holy speech of his. The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. It's one of God's unalterable appointments that all must die. Death

passeth on all men, inasmuch as all have sinned, which should learn us David's silence and submission, because the Lord hath done it, and the father seeing it pleased Him to continue him amongst us so long, to such an age, giving us the opportunities to reap the fruits of his godly and gracious examples and counsels, which, now he is taken from us, the Lord help us that we may practically follow, so running that we may obtain the promised recompense of reward; the crown of immortality and life, which he is now possessed of. Dear brother, this providence (I suppose) doth unavoidably call you to make a voyage into these parts with all possible speed for the transacting and settling of your affairs here, some things not being in so good a posture as were to be wished: viz: the business of Carleton's administration, which was like to be wholly obstructed on my father's death. But Mr. Wickins, a faithful friend, being intrusted in his will to act in his behalf, hath slacked no diligence or pains therein. He will write to you himself, therefore I'll say no more to that.

"You are made sole executor. Mr. Wickins, with myself are desired to be overseers of the same in your absence. I carried the will to him to London, which he hath since proved in the Prerogative Court, who will send you a copy thereof. I was lately at London, of purpose to communicate your letters and bills to him, for goods to be sent this year and care will be taken to send the greatest part of them by the first good ship.

"Though upon our conference with Mr. Bridge and partners, they make scruple of parting with any money of yours in their hands with out a particular order from your own hand, that which you gave to my father for the dispose thereof being (they say) dead with him.

"I spake with some of the men to whom you directed your bills for goods, and they were all cheerful to send what you write for, though they stay for payment till the next return of ships. In much haste and briefly I give you a hint of things, hoping this may come to your hands before other ships in which goods will be sent, by whom, if God please, you shall hear further. Clarke is not yet arrived, but daily expected.

"Sir, myself and wife, with all our children are at present in comfortable health, who all present our endeared respects to you and yours. The mercy of the blessed mediator overshadow you and yours and guide you in all your undertakings, that in due time we may see your face to our mutual comfort. So prays,

Your ever loving brother,

HENRY SMITH

Wyrardisbury

Febr. 20, 1662. (1663)

Superscribed,

For his dear and wellbeloved brother,

Mr. John Pyncheon

At his house in Springfield,
on Conecticott, New-England.

Present."

John Pynchon was again called upon to put his house in order for another tiresome and protracted journey to England. There is but presumptive evidence of the length of his stay, but what there is seems quite convincing. The record of the Town Meeting at Springfield on May 11, 1663, is in his handwriting, and his name does not thereafter appear on the records until December 30, 1664, when he



All Saints' Church, Springfield, England

Of which William Pynchon (founder of Springfield) was a Warden in 1624.

presented the town with a new record book, presumably brought from England. In the Pynchon ledgers is an item in the hand of Deacon Samuel Chapin, that in part reads as follows:

“Captain Pynchon, when he went for England, did agree with his brother Holyoke, to take the mill and Master Holyoke’s share of the land belonging thereunto, for payment of the debt on the other side of this page and upon delivery of a deed of sale of the mill and the land, to his wife, Mistress Pynchon, he did order his said wife should cancel the debt. Now, the first of March, 1663-64, the said Master Holyoke did deliver to Mistress Pynchon a deed of sale of the said mill and land, whereupon the said Mistress Pynchon canceled the said debt”.

“Witness, SAMUEL CHAPIN.”

Later in that year of 1664 John Pynchon returned to Springfield. During his absence, his baby daughter Mehitabel, had died on July 2, 1663.

The Pynchon will represented an earnest attempt to consider all members of the family in an age when the eldest son was usually the favored legatee.

To the poor of Wraysbury was bequeathed £3.

Pynchon's own sisters, Jane Tesdall of Abington and Susan Platt received £20 each.

John Pynchon's children, Joseph, John, Mary and Hetabell (Mehitabel) also received £20 each.

To Elizabeth, Mary, Rebecca, Martha and Elisha Smith, children of his eldest daughter, Anna Smith, was given £20 each.

To Thomas, Benjamin and William Davis, children of his deceased daughter, Margaret, £10 each.

The children of his deceased daughter, Mary Pynchon Holyoke, received certain debts due in New England to Henry Smith and a horse of his at Barbadoes Island, previously assigned to Pynchon in payment of debts.

To his only living daughter Anna Smith, he gave a note for a sizeable sum due him from her husband, Henry Smith, thus, in effect canceling the debt.

The realty and the residue of the personal estate all went to John Pynchon, who was named executor, with Henry Smith and Mr. Wickens, "citizen and girdler of London", as overseers. Mr. Wickens was also made special executor in connection with "eighteen thousand of tobacco and a £30 bill of exchange" in litigation in Virginia. The Pynchon interests were far-flung.

Amongst the assets of the estate was a note of Henry Smith's for £220 and accrued interest, and a note of John Pynchon's for £106, dated April 15, 1654.

When his eldest son Joseph became of age, John Pynchon conveyed the Wraysbury realty to him by deed-of-gift, but it was years before the personal assets were finally liquidated.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Old Order Changeth

FOR a brief period following the departure of William Pynchon, Springfield was without a magistrate or governing body, but eventually John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel Chapin were appointed by the Court and took oath as Commissioners on November 22, 1652. For more than two decades thereafter, the town continued to progress in a placid and uneventful way.

SIXTEEN ACRES

On the easterly outskirts of Springfield is a section known since 1652 as Sixteen Acres. The circumstance is unique, for there is no other community in America where such an appellative has persisted. Adjoining territory was designated by other unusual place-names; names reminiscent of the Elizabethan era. Northward was Peggy's Dipping Hole; to the east was World's End. At the south was Necessity, with The Plumtrees westward. In the center was Bask Pond, a sand-bottom pool still used exclusively for bathing. Springfield people were literal folk and their place-names had meaning. Another bathing pool, whose bubbling waters were impregnated with sulphide of iron, was with real reason called Stinking Hole Bask. In 1802 the main highway through the Sixteen Acres hamlet was called "the road to Dartmouth College", the Indian school at Hanover, New Hampshire.

Whence came this name of Sixteen Acres?

East of the arable meadows by the Connecticut River and extending ten miles to the Wilbraham Mountains, the ground was so sterile as to be of little value. In 1758 Sir Jeffrey Amherst attested to its worthlessness, and in 1789 Washington called it "eight miles of almost uninhabited pine plain much mixed with sand". On the 1795 map it is designated as "pine barrens interspersed with unimprovable swamps". This condition was due to the Indian custom of burning over the land each year and so continuous were such fires that eventually even the humus and organic matter of the soil were consumed, exposing the glacial sand. The natives spared only ground too damp for fire to run over.

Flowing into the Connecticut River from the east were several small streams such as Mill River and Pecousic Brook, where numberless beaver dams produced ponds and swamps that protected those

valleys from fire. When such dams were destroyed by the settlers, the waters flowed out, leaving the silted-up pond floors that provided those much desired flat "beaver meadows", highly fertilized and ready for the plow. After all of the alluvial meadows contiguous to the town had been allocated to the earlier settlers, later arrivals eagerly sought those outlying valley fields. Hence, Rowland Thomas petitioned for such an allotment and in January, 1652, he was granted "six acres of meadow lying remote from the town, upon the Mill River, in a parcel of meadow judged to be sixteen or seventeen acres". There was also granted "to Francis Pepper, four acres of meadow adjoining Rowland's; also to Thomas and John Stebbins, each of them three acres". Here, then, were sixteen acres at the exact spot where the name has been perpetuated.

There is nothing in the phrasing of that order to indicate that this grant differed from any other. However, when, later in that same month, there was granted to twenty-two individuals, forty-seven acres "on the Mill River, going up to the sixteen acres", the inclusion of the definite article is rather provocative. Suspicion is further whetted by a conveyance of 1653 whereby the Indians sold land for the site of Northampton. As partial consideration, the purchasers agreed to "cause to be plowed up for the Indians, sixteen acres of land on the east side of the Connecticut River", for the exclusive use of the natives. But why sixteen acres? Why not fifteen? Or twenty? It suggests the possibility that sixteen acres represented a unit of land measure in common use at that time and that it was just as distinctive and familiar as were the now obsolete rood, or pole or perch.

In 1664 Henry Chapin was granted "sixteen acres of land above Chicopee Plain". John Pyncheon's ledger shows a debit in 1670, to Joseph Whiting "for your sixteen acres at Woronoco". In 1672 John and Samuel Barber were each granted "sixteen acres of land by Agawam river". That same year Thomas Cooper received a grant of "sixteen acres of land by Three Mile Brook". In 1684 Henry Chapin received "sixteen acres at Chicopee". In 1689 John Riley bought "sixteen acres on the west side".

In 1656 Rowland Thomas received an additional grant of "meadow on Mill River above the falls which are above the sixteen acres". In 1667 John Clark was appointed overseer "for the way to the sixteen acres". In 1680 liberty was granted for a sawmill "at the falls at sixteen acres". In 1700 land was granted on "Sixteen Acre plain, on the south side of the path that goeth to Sixteen Acres". It is apparent that by the end of the century Sixteen Acres had definitely become a place-name.

In the nineteenth century that great expanse in the western United States, known as the Public Lands, was organized into townships that became grouped into territories and eventually into states of the Union. Those townships comprised thirty-six sections, each of which contained six hundred and forty acres. When, after the Civil War, allotments of the public lands were made to Union veterans, the

unit was a division of a section, known as a quarter-section. In the final quarter of the nineteenth century, a quarter-section was a household word in America.

As a section contained six hundred and forty acres, it was, perforce, a mile square, and one is reminded that a quarter-section therefore contained one hundred and sixty acres, which is exactly ten times sixteen acres. In other words, sixteen acres equalled one-tenth of a quarter-section and one-fortieth of a square mile.

The Sixteen Acre plot allocated to Rowland Thomas and his associates was in the valley of the South Branch of the Mill River, directly west of the present Parker Street. The adjacent millpond is an artificial body created by a dam, but in its natural state, there was and still is, west of the street, a fall that quite early was utilized for supplying power for a sawmill and up to quite recent years it continued in use for one enterprise after another, such as a gin distillery and lastly a gristmill.

As one drives about the community time rolls back for many generations. Going northward on Parker Street, on the right is Hillcrest Park Cemetery, with which is incorporated Maplewood Cemetery first used in 1816. The projectors of the modern cemetery found it more feasible to secure a permit to enlarge an existing cemetery than to acquire permission for a wholly new and independent affair.

Continuing north, Parker Street crosses the North Branch of Mill River, where, east of the road and north of the stream, was the home of Zenas Parker, for whom the road was named.

At the intersection of the next road is a marker giving the name of Fern Bank Road to the thoroughfare, as part of an ill-advised attempt to modernize the district. For generations, the way was known as Dipping Hole Road, commemorating an episode of an earlier century, and the alteration is regrettable. After crossing the Wilbraham town line, Peggy's Dipping Hole is encountered. Quite recently this came to be used as a dumping place for rubbish, but when the condition came to the notice of the town fathers, it was promptly corrected. At the end of the road, where it enters Stony Hill Road, is another example of the good judgment of the Wilbraham authorities, for the street marker reads, "Dipping Hole Road".

At first thought, the name of Stony Hill Road would seem to be a misnomer, for neither stones nor hills are apparent. Actually, it was so named because it led to the Stony Hill district of Ludlow.

Circling around World's End and back into Sixteen Acres, the Tinkham Road is on the left, with the home of David Tinkham still standing on the easterly side of the road bearing his name.

Southerly from the center, Parker Street crosses Mill River South Branch on a bridge west of the Mill Pond Dam, but in colonial days, the crossing was at the head of Rowland Thomas' meadow, and below the natural fall in the stream. There, as early as 1667, was Warriner's Bridge.

South of the center is Bask Pond, a reminder that in the days of Queen Elizabeth and of Shakespeare, people basked both in the sun

and in the water. When the ice went out in the spring, the neighbors gathered there for the annual spring cleaning of the person. Hence the name.

Continuing on, the road rises to the highest altitude within the city limits. Necessity, the settlers called it, but today it is Markham's Hill, a poor substitute for a name with which George Washington honored a fort in the Old French War.

The Plumtree Road runs westerly from the center. Each spring the damp, low grounds south of the road were bright with the plum blossoms. The wild plum was no rarity in the vicinity. In 1707 there was a Plumtree Meadow on Riley's Brook in West Springfield and a district in Sunderland is still known as "Plumtrees". Where the road crosses the South Branch, just before the stream enters Water-shop Pond, more than a century ago there was a dam creating a pond for power purposes, the long narrow pond extending easterly toward the Sixteen Acre center.

North of Plumtree Road was Venturer's Pond, probably the scene of some speculative "adventure", the details of which were long since lost.

In the 1870 period, when "McKnightville", the Armory Hill section of Springfield, was being developed, especially the Lake Como section north of Winchester Square, the farmers of Sixteen Acres had a dream. In 1871 the *Springfield Republican* said:

"Sixteen Acres is chiefly a farming community and is six miles east of City Hall and two miles south of Indian Orchard station on the railroad. There are perhaps not more than a dozen houses clustered together with a grist mill, blacksmith shop, ward building for voters and a school house near by. Two freestone quarries are in the vicinity. The people expect our horse railroad will be extended there and then when the vicinity of Lake Como becomes too thickly settled, their land will be wanted for city lots and suburban villas."

But the street cars were never thus "extended", and it was another half-century before the automobile brought a realization of the dream.

CHICOPEE

When, in 1636, William Pynchon bought of the Indians the lands which became Springfield, the northerly bound of the tract was at the Chicopee River. Five years later, to provide for future expansion, he purchased a tract three miles by four miles, bounded southerly by Chicopee River and extending easterly four miles from its mouth, to the present Higher Brook. There are indications that to the natives, this was neutral ground, and it is certain that the Chicopee River provided community fishing places. Schonunganuck, Skipmuck and Wallamanumps were much frequented. In later years there was keen rivalry for the fishing rights amongst the settlers, while the fishing at other streams in the section was seldom of sufficient importance to be worthy of mention.

Payment for this tract was made to Nippumsuit and Jancompowin of Nonotuck, now Northampton; to Misquis of Skipmuck, east of Chicopee Falls; to Mishqua and her son Saccarant; to Secousk and to Wenepawin, the latter four being all of Woronoco, now Westfield. Secousk was the widow of Kenix, one of the Indians from whom Pynchon had bought the land at Springfield, five years earlier, in which sale this Wenepawin had also joined.



Berry Pond, Highest Body of Water in Massachusetts, Berkshire County

To these seven Indians, besides "certain fish hooks and other small things", Pynchon agreed to give fifteen fathoms of wampum, one hoe and a "coat" or blanket of one-and-three-quarter yards of double width shag baize, all of which went to Nippumsuit personally, as the acknowledged leader of the band. Then, more significantly, was additional payment made of seven knives, seven awls and seven pairs of scissors, which seems a recognition of the fact that the above seven Indians alone claimed sole joint ownership.

On coming to put his mark to the formal deed, Wenepawin proved recalcitrant and Pynchon was obliged to give him a yard and a quarter of baize for a "coat" as well as a pair of breeches and a coat to Misquis "and six knives to them all". A month later, May 24, 1641, the widow Secousk came in to set her mark for which she

demand and received another knife and twelve hands of wampum. Jancompowin delayed his part in completing the bargain for some two and a half years, but on the "9th day of the 8th month, 1643, he set his hand to this writing and Mr. Pyncheon gave him a coat and a knife. He came not to set his hand till this day". So matters rested, until June 27, 1644, when "the woman called Secousk, above said, who was the widow of Kenix, came again to Mr. Pyncheon, desiring a further reward, whereupon Mr. Pyncheon gave her a child coat of red cotton, a glass and a knife, in the presence of Janandua, her present husband, and she was fully satisfied". Even this was not the end. Nippumsuit demanded "another large coat for his sister that he said had right in the land". With the delivery of this coat, the transaction was finally completed.

Another Indian, Wauhshaues of Nonotuck, also signed the deed, but merely as a witness making no claim to ownership. A final witness was the Indian Coa, and his inclusion explains much.

Coa (or Coe or Coo) was an Indian from whose wife, Niarum, Pyncheon had bought land at Agawam five years earlier. When negotiating for that land, Pyncheon brought from Boston a recognized Indian interpreter, who attested that "to all within expressed, they understood; by Ahaughton, an Indian of the Massachusett". When John Pyncheon, in 1653, bought the land for the settlement of Northampton, the deed was witnessed by "Wutshamin, a chief man of Nammeleck, who helped to make the bargain". To the 1660 deed for the land which became Hatfield, "Woassomelhue alias Skejask, an Indian witness", set his mark.

It was a Pyncheon custom and, without doubt in this case, it was Coa "who helped to make the bargain", and who was deputed to bring in the tardy Jancompowin. Which explains why the leader was called Nippumsuit; "he who speaks another language", that is, "a man of another tribe". And why his abiding place was called Nonotuck; "the place far off", otherwise a "foreign land".

It might be added that the names Jancompowin and Janandua are entirely unlike any other local personal or place names. The initial "J" seems not to have existed in the Connecticut Valley. It might be suspected that Pyncheon here used a "J" for a sound which might have been better represented by "ch"; giving Chancompowin and Chanandua.

Prior to Pyncheon's permanent return to England he disposed of all his real estate, most of it being distributed to members of his family, but the Chicopee parcel was conveyed to his son John and to his two sons-in-law, Henry Smith and Elizur Holyoke, for the benefit of the inhabitants of the town. With the guiding hand of the master removed, loud clamor began to be heard for a fuller distribution of the common lands. Desirable property to the west and south became fully occupied and envious eyes were cast on the Chicopee meadows. In the meantime, Henry Smith had joined the elder Pyncheon in Eng-

land, leaving John Pynchon and Elizur Holyoke to battle the townsmen alone. As they found it impossible to resist the pressure, they resorted to diplomacy and evolved a master scheme.

At a Town Meeting, held November 21, 1654, a farm by the Connecticut and north of the Chicopee was granted to John Pynchon, and a farm east of that was granted to John Pynchon and Elizur Holyoke jointly. A committee, consisting of Thomas Cooper, Thomas Miller, Thomas Stebbins and Rowland Thomas, was instructed to determine proper bounds for the two farms.

Undoubtedly, Pynchon and Holyoke named this committee, and all four were men who were under deep obligations to the ruling family. When they reported their conclusions it developed that the entire tract had been divided into but two "farms", the westerly one being Pynchon's and the easterly one Pynchon's and Holyoke's jointly. There was not an acre of surplus remaining, the two "farms" covering the entire twelve square miles.

Thus the family had control of the situation. Sizable tracts were sold to such as had money, goods or labor to exchange for land. Meadows were leased on shares. All went well and the domain of Nippumsuit, the neutral ground of the natives, was on its way toward becoming a part of the present city of Chicopee.

Then came the year 1684. Elizur Holyoke had been dead for eight years. Henry Smith had recently died. John Pynchon, at fifty-eight, was the sole remaining trustee of the Chicopee acres. He was growing old. Parents, sisters, brothers-in-law, had all passed on. Though his wife remained, four of his five children had died, John, Jr., alone remaining. Possibly conscience pricked a bit. In any event, the record says, that in January, 1683-1684, "The Worshipful Major, John Pynchon, esquire doth surrender to the town all that large grant of land, November 21, 1654, beyond Schonungonucke and up to the head of Wallamansepe and eastward to the brook (Higher Brook) that runs into Skeepmuck River". Thus were the Chicopee lands returned to the people.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

John Pynchon was fully aware of the insufficiency of his own education and was determined that his sons Joseph and John should not be handicapped by a similar deficiency. Then as now, English lads were sent away to school at a very tender age. As early as 1643 a school, of which Elijah Corlet was master, had been established at Cambridge to fit pupils for Harvard, and Joseph entered that school in 1654, more than three months prior to his eighth birthday, with John following a year later. The children's aunt, Margaret Pynchon Davis of Boston, had died the previous year, but her husband, Captain William Davis, apparently kept in touch with the boys.

Details of the arrangements appear in the Pynchon journal.

April 11, 1654. I left my son Joseph at board with Goodman Beale of Cambridge, whom I am to allow for his tabling £10 pr annum.

	£	s	d
April 17, 1654. Paid Goodman Beale in money....	2	10	00
April 31, 1654. Paid him in money.....	1	00	00
October, 1654. Sent him from Mr. Peck of New Haven two firkins of butter, weighed neat 57 lbs. apiece	2	17	00
The two firkins.....	0	03	00
Paid in cloth by brother-in-law Davis.....	2	10	00
Paid by my brother-in-law Davis in money.....	1	00	00
In all, for a year's tabling.....	10	00	00
August 31, 1655. Paid Goodman Beale, six yards of serge at 6s, 8d, pr. yard.....	2	00	00
Paid in money, 20s. More in money 20s.....	2	00	00
April 11, 1654. Joseph Pynchon went to school with Mr. Corlet.			
April 17, 1654. Paid Mr. Corlet toward Joseph's schooling,—			
In money	0	10	00
By my brother-in-law Davis.....	1	00	00
More by my brother-in-law Davis.....	1	00	00
Paid by twenty bushels of wheat.....	4	10	00
	7	00	00

£4. of it goes for Joseph's two years schooling to May, 1656 and so there is £3. onward to Joseph and John's next year.

Joseph Pynchon was granted the degree of Master of Arts by Harvard College, where he graduated at the age of eighteen, as one of seven who made up the class of 1664. Shortly thereafter he went to England and took over the care of the property of his deceased grandfather. John Pynchon was then fast passing the height of the family prosperity. He was land poor and, with the fur trade on the decline, Springfield had little to offer the family. Joseph eventually became a practicing physician at Uxbridge, adjoining to his grandfather's Wraysbury home. While there, his father wrote him:

“Springfield, November 20, 1672.

“Dear Son Joseph,—

“I received two letters from you this year and rejoice to hear of your health and welfare which I pray God's will to continue to your and our comfort and to His honor and glory, being the great end for which we came into and are continued in this world. I understand you are in a way of settling at Uxbridge in your practice of physie. I no whit dislike your employing yourself therein, but am glad of it, seeing your mind doth not lie to come to New England as yet, and

though we long to see you, yet I would not obstruct you in that way, but pray God to bless you in it and to help you to be really serviceable to your generation and advantageous to yourself. I am desirous as and amiable to help you and furnish you with necessary requisites and to encourage you I have resolved to settle upon you my parsonage land at Wraisbury with all the privileges thereof which, when once renewed, I hope will be a good estate and moreover I do give you all my deeds and writings concerning the purchase thereof. I also give you Blaste house and orchard and the pigeon house and orchard and all my land and housing bought of Mr. Belstroad, only reserving, if I need it, £200. to be paid me out of the rents in four or five years time and £20. per annum during mine and your mother's life. But that trade is decayed with me, I should not make these reserves and may possibly release some of them if I find I can live without them. I also do give you one-thousand acres of land in this country, at New London, besides what I may give you hereafter. I intend also, you shall have all my household stuff at Wraisbury, and though I can ill spare any money now, yet for your present help in furnishing yourself with drugs, if all I can make will raise £100. and for that I have wrote to Mr. Wickins to furnish you with £100. and for that I do not send for any goods, having no trade at all, but am willing to help you now for I doubt I shall not be able hereafter, I not being in the way of trade that formerly cannot do as possibly you may think I can.

“As for renewing the lease, I leave it wholly to you and concerning all matters there, act and do all in your own name and to your own satisfaction and content, for I give all to you and would help you more if I had money, but seeing I cannot, you must be the more husbandly and thrifty.

“You speak of tenants complaining &c. It hath always been so, and I am sure the land of Mr. Bulstroad was formerly at a light value, and were it to me, I would not lower the rents. I am put upon it to scribble and some failure I find in my eyesight, which occasion me to draw to an end. In a word, I leave all to your discretion to act and manage though for your own good and future settlement and advancement. The Lord guide you in his way and keep your heart close to advance and bless you in all your undertakings. I and your mother remember our dear and affectionate love to you. Your brother and sister Whiting are well and their young daughter Mary a fine child of about four months old. Your brother John lives at Boston. He was married in September last and he and your new sister, Marguerite, his wife, were well lately. I hope John hath sent you your commendamis from the college. Doctor Hoare, the new president of the college, promised it me and I bid your brother call for it. Hope it may be on its way to you. The Lord Jehovah be your protection and overshadow you with His blessing and presence, so prays,

“Your truly loving father,

“JOHN PYNCHON,

“Uxbridge is a place that hath afforded many servants to this country. Cannot you procure some for me and your brother Whiting?”
Superscribed.

“These For Mr. Joseph Pynchon, at Uxbridge in Middlesex. (England).”

YOUTHFUL INDISCRETIONS

Puritan youth did not find life in New England all work and no play, but there was a woeful lack of recreational facilities. One outdoor game was called “stool ball”, and there was a competitive trial known as “pitching the bar”.

Thomas Stebbins, son of the deacon, and four other young men were admonished for “fiercely galloping and running their horses in the street, to the endangering of children”. Complaint was made that Thomas Thompson and John Horton engaged in a fistic bout, “on the Sabbath, half an hour after sunset, profaning the Lord’s day”. Miles Morgan and Jonathan Burt were ordered “to sit in the meeting house gallery, to check disorders in youth and young men in time of God’s service”. The selectmen concluded that:

“Whereas, for a long time there has been great disorder in our assembly, many young persons stealing out of the meeting house before the blessing be pronounced. So many of them cannot be thought to have any necessity so to do and it being a great grief to serious minds, we order that no person so do, except there be necessary occasion. And we request that Lieutenant Stebbins see that there be no disorderly practice by the youth and if they will not be reformed, then to make return of their names to the selectmen.”

The selectmen met to consider “the great damage done to the glass windows by children playing about the meeting house”.

In 1640 Samuel Hubbard was licensed to keep a tavern in the vicinity of the present Howard Street, with “some inoffensive sign, obvious for stranger’s direction”. Six years later, complaint was made of “great disorder caused by the game called shuffle-board in houses of common entertainment, whereby much precious time is unfruitfully spent and much waste of wine and beer occasioned”.

This shuffle-board was not the game of today, played on ship-board, but a gambling game, a cross between billiards and checkers, played on a table with coins.

In 1640 the General Court forbade dancing in taverns and in 1648 decreed a fine of five shillings for those “who expend time in unlawful games, as cards and dice”. But the prohibition was so lightly regarded that, twenty-four years later, the penalty was increased twenty-fold, one-half going to the informer. So came the day of snoopers and official informers.

By spying on their neighbors, sneaking busybodies were enabled to add to their incomes, but it was not all one-sided. “Hugh Parsons was complained of for taking tobacco (smoking) in the open street and James Bridgman did testify the same”. In retaliation, at the

next sessions of the court, the tables were turned and "James Bridgman was complained of by Hugh Parsons for taking tobacco in his yard".

Personal liberty and joy of life were getting to be a thing of the past in New England, with darker days in the offing. But that the early days were gay and lightsome, there is ample evidence. Young Winthrop concluded an early letter to his wife with the admonition, "Be merry, and resolve to be very cheerful, I pray thee".

In a desperate search for an outlet for their spirits, the minister's sons and the deacon's daughters laid the foundation for the reputation attributed to them in a later era.irate fathers of careless daughters brought the town youth into Court for shotgun weddings.

Hannah, the unmarried daughter of Thomas Merrick, accused Jonathan Morgan, son of Miles, of the paternity of her child. Another of Miles Morgan's children was employed as a domestic in the family of Samuel Gaines, who became the father of her illegitimate child. Ebenezer and Hannah Miller confessed in open court to improper relations before marriage. Deacon Chapin's daughter Sarah married Rowland Thomas, and their first child was born less than five months after the wedding. Griffith Jones was given fifty lashes on the bare back for "low conversation among young people". Perhaps the most sordid case was that of Rebecca Allen who had an illicit affair with an Indian. After the birth of her child, the girl was whipped because the judges believed that "she did not resist him as she should have done". The Court expressed "great cause to lament and bewail the sore hand of God against us in suffering such vile enormities to break out amongst us, which, as a flood, do threaten to overwhelm us".

SILVER PLATE

On his initial visit to England, in 1656, John Pyncheon saw at his father's home at Wraybury, a table laid with silver. At once he determined that the table at his own home in New England should be arrayed in a similar manner. The nucleus for such an arrangement was already in his hands, for his wife had inherited from her father's family a solid silver porringer and before returning home Pyncheon bought in London, a silver bowl. After arriving home, there came a circumstance that played into his hand.

The trading post at Springfield dealt not only in furs and farm products, but also in lands, mortgages and many other things. It operated as a private bank and on occasion served as a pawnbroker's shop, to which came a transient named Janes, a person who had seen better days, and who was then in need of financial assistance. That he was either a gentleman or a scholar is apparent from the title given to him. On page twenty of volume one of the Pyncheon ledgers, is the following entry:

"Oct. 1657. Mr. Janes left three silver spoons in pawn for 21s.

"June 16, 1658. Sold Mr. Janes 7½ yards of serge, comes to 3s, 6d. He left with me a silver spoon with a crack in the handle, worth about 7s.

"Feb. 1662. Mr. Janes and I accounted and for the four silver spoons, I take them at 28s, only if he pay me the 28s next year, he is to have them."

However optimistic the debtor might have been about redeeming his property, Pynchon had had sufficient prior experience with impoverished gentlemen, so that from the first he considered himself to be the ultimate owner of the four spoons. In the meantime, as occasion offered, he added a piece now and then to his collection, until, in 1659, he had a sufficient showing to make desirable a permanent inventory, which appears on page 375 of the second volume of the Pynchon books. For some reason it was in cipher, not at all intricate, but sufficiently so as to defy the yokels who might have access to the book during his absence. The original entry reads thus:

My Plate Ano. 1659
2. c18s, 2. S16ts & 1. d4fs 28 Sp4482s - 18. 06. 08
1. p49938g29 of 72 553f25 about - 01. 02. 04
1. 55382 C5p & 1. d917 C5p - 00. 18. 00
1. S7162 B45562. C4ft 72 in E8g618d -
4⁴⁶ Sp44825 645ght of Mr. J182s - 01. 05. 06
one g36t S16t 645ght c Hull & Tud29 -

John Pynchon's Cipher Record of his Gold and Silver Tableware, 1659

In any language, the vowels are of most frequent occurrence. In this cipher, the numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, stand for a, e, i, o, u. The liquids, l, m, n, r, are represented by 6, 7, 8, 9; and w (double u) by 55 (double 5). The consonants are used as in the ordinary alphabet. Certain archaic spellings are encountered, but these are quite apparent. Literally, the passage reads as follows:

My Plate, Ano. 1659.

2 cans, 2 salts & 1 dossan spoones.....	18	06	08
1 porringer of me wifes, about.....	01	02	04
1 wine cup & 1 dram cup.....	00	18	00
1 smale bowl, cost me in England			
4 old spoones bought of Mr. Janes.....	01	05	06
One gilt salt bought of Hull & Tudor			

The two cans were probably ale cans. The word dossan was Pynchon's form of dozen in an era before spelling was standardized. The prices given to the various articles, indicates that they were weighed, and their bullion value given.

Thus was the table spread.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Mansion House

WILLIAM PYNCHON'S home in Springfield, from his first coming in 1636 to his exit in 1652, was a one and one-half story building, about twenty-five feet square, standing some one hundred feet west of the Town Street. It stood on the "hill", to make it safe from high water in spring freshets, the southerly wall coinciding very nearly with the northerly line of the present Fort Street. After the departure of the elder Pynchon, this became the home of his only son, John, though offering but meager accommodation for a family of six, with their numerous servants. It is small wonder that after seeing the spacious houses of England, John Pynchon arrived home in 1657 with the same nostalgic yearning for manor houses and baronial halls that had obsessed some of his father's contemporaries at their first coming in 1630, and he determined to have a home more in keeping with the prominence of his family. Such was not a matter of weeks or months, but of years. No element of such a building was to be had in the open market. Bricks must be made, stone fashioned and timbers hewn,—all by hand. The town brickmaker Hugh Parsons, had been driven out in the witchcraft persecutions half a dozen years before, but Pynchon arranged with Francis Hacklinton of Northampton to supply his needs, his agreement reading as follows:

"January 12, 1658 (1659)

"Agreed with Francis Hacklinton to make and deliver me at Northampton, forty thousand of good well burnt full sized brick, at least two-thirds to be good weather bricks. This to be done and performed and the bricks delivered, at least fifteen thousand of them by the middle of August and the rest to be all ready against next October, for which said forty thousand of bricks he is to have the sum of thirty-five pounds, to be paid him according as he shall deliver any bricks and one ell of red shag baize, already delivered. And hereto the said Francis sets his hand.

Witness hereto
JOSEPH PARSONS."

FRANCIS HACKLINTON.

A supplementary contract was made with Hacklinton, December 2, 1659, for 10,000 more bricks, making 50,000 in all. Though these contracts called for full-sized bricks, those actually used in the house were smaller than those now in common use.

Edward Griswold of Windsor had the general contract, his charge being as follows:

Building new house.....	£40	00	00
Chimneys	7	00	00
Hewing Stone.....	0	12	00
Tar	2	08	00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	50	00	00

By the spring of 1660 the brick walls and chimneys had been completed, the floors laid and the roof timbers installed. In anticipation of the next step, arrangement was made with Samuel Grant of Windsor, to lay the shingles. Pynchon's memorandum of the agreement, made when he was in one of his mentally expansive moods, is so descriptive that it is here recited in full.

"March 13, 1659 (1660). Agreed with Sam Grant to shingle my new house of forty-two foot long and twenty-one wide with foot and half shingle and to lay all the boards on which the shingle are to be laid and to lay the planks for gutters and to make all the gutters both for the porch and those joining to the old house and to lay all the boards and shingles on the porch and leanto also as well as those on the house and to join all close and fully and sufficiently well to the old house and to make and shingle a window over the old house and also a window over the leanto which is to give light to the stair case. He is to do all the work of all gutters, planks and shingles, that is to say, the laying of all and he is to go about it as soon as the roof is ready or a part ready for him to begin and to finish it with what speed he can, that it be done before winter, for which I am to allow him nine pounds, ten shillings. He agrees to make all the rafter feet and to scallop two layings of the shingle on the foreside and also two courses at each end of the house and porch and I am to allow him the ten shillings so that he have ten pounds in all and to make good deep eaves and over the shingle at the ends of the house a good way".

Dr. Joseph C. Pynchon, who was born in the house in 1815 and passed his early youth in it, gave in 1878 his recollections of it.

"The main house was of brick with very solid walls. I should judge they were two feet or more in thickness in the first story, being thick enough to afford seats at all the windows in the front and side rooms of the lower story, within the walls, the width or depth of the seats being at least eighteen inches. The house, I judge, was about forty feet in length and twenty feet in width, fronting towards Main street. The roof of the house sloped towards Main street. The height of the house was twenty-two feet from the ground to the eaves

and the same number of feet perpendicular from the eaves to the ridge board, making a roof so steep that no one could climb up it without a ladder. There were two large front rooms or parlors on the ground floor, with a small room taken out of the north room for a store room, which was dark, and a corner cupboard with glass front in the south parlor, where the silver and crockery were kept. Between these rooms, from east to west, ran the hall, about eight feet wide to the wooden building in the rear, rising one step to enter the wooden building. From the kitchen in the wooden building, it was necessary to descend one step into the parlors. There were but two chambers over these parlors; a north and south chamber, separated from each other by a six foot passage way leading into the garret, which, from floor to ridge, measured twenty-two feet. The garret was a dark room, only one small window in each gable to give it light. There were no closets in the chambers. All approach to them was from the hall or from the wood part in the rear. The wood part was, say twenty-five feet square, occupied latterly as a kitchen. The rooms were a kitchen, pantry and bed-room leading from the kitchen. This wooden part was brown, unpainted, one and one-half stories high, without chambers, but a dark attic, which in later years was used only as a store-room. The brick of the main house were of very small size, not more than two-thirds the size of ordinary brick. The chimneys were in two stacks at the north and south ends and three flues in each stack protruded from the top of the roof, the flues being united at the corners, making them appear each as three touching each other as by a line. I have no means of judging the thickness of the walls in the second story of the house, only remembering that in the north wall there was a crack which had opened more than an inch, said crack extending from the top of the wall to within two feet of the ground. Having often looked through this crack from the room to the weather outside, I can judge from recollection that the wall was more than a foot in thickness. Tradition said this crack was made by an earthquake. The house was set at something of an angle from Main street. There was a water-table of red sandstone, on three sides of the brick house, about two feet from the ground. This was hewn and rounded, projecting from the brick and designed for ornamentation. The porch, extending from the front entrance toward Main street, was pulled away before I was born, but in my recollection, lying in the back yard, were two very massive stones, I should judge five feet by ten or twelve feet surface and one foot thick, one side arched out and evidently made for its ends to stand on some solid foundation. These stones were said to have formed the top of the front and rear entrance to this porch''.

Such was the first brick house in the Connecticut Valley, which the owner invariably referred to as his "Mansion House". Until his death more than forty years later, it served as his home as well as

his business quarters. There the magistrates assembled on Court Days. When the Indians essayed the annihilation of the settlers during King Philip's War in 1675, it provided refuge and salvation. For one hundred seventy years generation after generation of the Pyncheon family made it their home, but by 1831 it had outlived its usefulness and was wholly and utterly demolished, the debris being strewed on the town streets. At that time a number of drawings of the house were made, each differing from the others in many details, they hav-



Mill River Bridge Looking up Belmont Avenue, Springfield, 1876

ing been made from recollection or hearsay. This is especially true of the porch, which became so dilapidated that it was removed in 1813. This was represented as something in the nature of the portecochere, so beloved by architects and builders seventy-five years ago. Actually, it was a protective entrance, with a door in front, the two side walls being solid brick. Above was an office or study, all being in the English tradition of the seventeenth century. The sketch here given, combining the recorded facts, represents the house as it was when built.

With thoughts of its service to the community during the troubled years, in its latter days the "Mansion House was more or less affectionately called the "Old Fort", and thus Fort Street came by its name. When the Springfield Fire & Marine Insurance Company bought the property at Main and Fort Streets in 1857 and

erected for its own use, the building still standing there, that building was known as the Fort Block. Some fifty years ago, when the Fort Street addition to that block was built (14 Fort Street), the shovels of the excavators threw out quantities of the old hand-made bricks of 1659, but unfortunately no one was then interested in their preservation.

When the old house was torn down in 1831, a number of souvenirs were made from bits of its timbers. On June 8, 1833 the *Springfield Republican* reported that "it is mentioned in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* that the Secretary of the Antiquarian Society in Worcester has received as a present from the Hampden Mechanics Association a chair lately made in Springfield of oak taken from the Old Fort or Pyncheon House which was built in Springfield in 1660 and taken down in 1831. Two of these chairs were made here, one for Hampden Mechanics Association and the other for the purpose just mentioned".

Quite recently the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester has deposited this chair with the Connecticut Valley Historical Society of Springfield.

An early guest at the "Mansion House" was a Dutchman from Fort Aurania (Albany), a medical practitioner seeking a suitable field for making use of his peculiar talents.

In contrast with the progress being made in other lines at that period, the ignorance concerning the treatment of bodily ills was appalling. John Winthrop experimented with the feeding of powdered coral to his sister for the relief of cancer. While a glimmering was had of the possibility of cures for tortured, aching bodies, such thoughts were intermixed with superstitious quackery. In England, Anne, Viscountess Conway, was subjected to a continuous dropping of water on the head as a cure for megrim. The wife of Governor Hopkins of Hartford had been insane for years and the distracted husband appealed to William Pyncheon, who advised:

"A plain, thin diet will make less matter for those subtle vapors. Gentle nosing will open the brain and give some refreshment, provided it be done by gentle means. Nosing tobacco and the like are too violent, but if lettuce leaves could be had, nothing is so good for nosing".

The inducing of sneezing as a cure for insanity seems most absurd, yet Pyncheon was a practical man. His account books show many a charge for "two pills and a vomit", administered to neighbors. Frequent return of grateful patients suggests that some relief resulted.

In 1661 Springfield appears to have been visited by an epidemic similar to infantile paralysis. A lame son of Miles Morgan was referred to John Winthrop, then at Hartford, as follows:

"Honored Sir,—

When I was at Hartford, I was at your house, desiring to speak with your Worship about my lame boy and to have had your advice

and help. But you were from home when I brought him to your house and when I came the second time you were also from home and so I was prevented of your advice and help, which I much desired and there upon I carried him to Goodwife Watts and left him with her. Now my humble request to your Worship is that you would please to see him and afford your help and advice and if you see it needful that he should be purged or take physic that you would give him what physic you judge needful and I shall account it a great favor and be ready to give you full satisfaction and content. Intreating your pardon for my boldness I humbly take leave and subscribe

Your Worship's servant,

MILES MORGAN''.

Knowing that Miles Morgan could neither read nor write, one realizes that both text and signature are in the hand of John Pynchon. In the lower left-hand corner is the Latin equivalent of "turn over", and on the inside of the folded sheet he wrote:

"May 23, 1661.

Sir,—

Here is a Dutchman came from Fort Aurania in February last who hath continued in Northampton ever since till about a week ago he came to Springfield town. He pretends skill in chirurgery and indeed had done some cures at Northampton as very credible persons do affirm and since he came hither hath done some things whereby it appears he hath some skill but how far it would reach know not. He hath taken Goodman Dorchester's leg in hand and thinks to cure it. And he says he thinks he could cure my daughter. He speaks very confidently thus far that he can bring her leg to right and straight. And he offers to cure her for £60. and yet withal says he will have nothing for his pains if he do not make a perfect cure that shall be so judged by any able chirurgeons. Myself and wife are fearful of meddling with him, being a stranger, lest he may do her hurt and therefore, though he hath been these eight days here and I have entertained him at my house, yet we have not hitherto employed him. But we have thoughts of trying him. He seems to be a sober man and says he will use no launching nor no violent means, but bathings, rubbings and chafing the sinews, and that he intends to follow two or three days, night and day. At first he intends to take little or no sleep for two or three nights. I thought at first he might be needy of money and his aim might be to get some, but he says I shall not pay him one penny till I see it be a cure and see her go without crutches or stick. If his endeavor should effect such a cure, I should wonder at it and have cause to magnify the goodness of God to us in so ordering it for us, which we deserve not.

JOHN PYNCHON''.

It may be confidently assumed that this massaging (so suggestive of the Sister Kenny treatment of modern times), provided relief. Crippled Mary Pynchon, ten years old when this letter was written, married at the age of nineteen, Joseph Whiting, Treasurer of the Connecticut Colony, and became the mother of two children. In those days, when a wife was manager of the household and responsible for the rearing of the children, even a wealthy man would hardly have chosen for a wife, a woman dependent on crutches. Pelatiah, son of Miles Morgan was killed by the Indians when far afield.

Bourn Von Hooren, the Dutchman, became a permanent resident of the town, where he was known as Born Van Horn. His name is perpetuated in Van Horn Park.

CHAPTER XXV

Land-Purchase Technique

WILLIAM PYNCHON early realized that an understanding of the Indian language was vital to his plans for the future and his familiarity with Latin and Greek qualified him for the undertaking to a degree enjoyed by few others. As his studies proceeded, he shared the results with his son, who also was determined to master the subject.

At the Forbes Library at Northampton is a Pynchon ledger on one page of which John Pynchon recorded his attempt to analyze the native words for the months of the year, "as far as I yet can understand them". In 1643, when the lad was seventeen years of age, Roger Williams had brought out his *Key Into the Language*". This phrase book must have bewildered and perplexed this eager student, for it is replete with inconsistencies. Few meanings are literal and much of the text relates to words that do not actually appear, but are merely implied. For instance, William gives *nawwatick* as "far off at sea", but the word includes nothing representing "sea", meaning simply "the far off place"; any sense of "sea" being merely of the mind.

On page sixty-six, *taquontikeeswush* is given as "harvest month", while on page one-hundred, *nunnowwa* is given as "harvest time". Actually, nothing in either word relates to "harvest". The first is from a root meaning "fall of the leaf", that is "autumn", which happens also to be harvest time. The root of the other word means merely, "it is dry".

After reading in Roger Williams' *Key*, that "they have thirteen months, according to the several moons and they give each of them significant names", Pynchon protested that "*pap sap quoho* and *lowatanassick* they say are both one. And if they be reckoned both for one, they reckon but twelve months to the year, as we do".

Today informed scholars prefer to rely on the Pynchon studies, rather than on those of Roger Williams.

Eventually, John Pynchon mastered the basic language of the natives of Western Massachusetts, although he never fully comprehended some of the dialectal changes, yet he became sufficiently fluent so that he could carry on ordinary negotiations with the Indians.

For that reason his services were constantly in demand by projectors of new settlements, in purchasing lands for their designs, as at Northampton in 1653, Hadley in 1658, Hatfield in 1660, Deerfield in 1667 and Westfield in 1669.

In Hampden County Registry of Deeds, at Springfield, Liber A, Folio 6, is recorded "a copy of a deed of sale whereby Umpanchela, an Indian sachem, formerly of Nolwotogg, did sell and alienate his right and interest in certain parcels of lands on the west side of Quinecticott river unto Major John Pynchon of Springfield, for and in the behalf of the inhabitants of Hadley, as also his, the said Major John Pynchon's assignment of the same to the said inhabitants".

The tract described was what became known as "Hadley west side", and is now the town of Hatfield". From it was reserved *the chickons*, alias *cottinyakies* (*kitikanakish*, plantation ground), which is to say, their planting ground".

The deed reads,—

"Be it known unto all men by these presents that Umpanchela, alias Womscon, a sachem of Nolwotogg on the one part, being the chief proper owner of the land on the west side of Quinecticot river, from Cappowoungonuck (*kuppo wonkun ohk*, "place shut in by a bend") to the upper side of Mincomonk (*min akam ohk*, "over across land", i. e., "land across the brook") for and in consideration of the sum of three hundred fathom of wampum in hand paid besides several other small gifts and for other good causes and considerations, do sell, give, grant to John Pynchon aforesaid on the other part and to his assigns and successors for ever, this tenth day of July, 1660".

Then followed "the mark of Umpanchala" and "the mark of Etowomp, brother to Umpanchee, ownering and approving the sale of the land and is a witness to it".

Should one here picture a meeting of the prospective settlers under an elm tree by the river, Umpanchala and his brother Etowomp attending with a princely retinue? Were the wampum beads made up into those symbolic belts so beloved by the pageant-masters? Or how was the payment made? What was the ceremony of the transfer?

As the answer is a matter of such complete documentary evidence, the facts are here recited.

The word wampum, an abbreviation of wampum-peage, meant "strings of white beads", but was by common usage applied to both the white and black beads. A fathom was an arbitrary measure of length established in 1640 by the Massachusetts authorities as a string of two hundred forty wampum beads with a value of four a penny. At four a penny, a fathom of two hundred forty beads would have a value of sixty pence, or five shillings. The following accounts show that in 1660, a fathom was still valued at five shillings and that a hand of wampum (twenty-four beads) was one-tenth of a fathom and was valued at six pence. Thus, the three hundred fathom of wampum mentioned in the deed would have comprised seventy-two

thousand beads, each one laboriously fashioned by hand from sea shells. The Pynchon account books are replete with entries showing payments to fellow townsmen for stringing such beads.

For more than half a century the Pynchon store served the Valley, from Wethersfield on the south to the most northerly upriver town, and from Brookfield on the east to Albany on the west. The account books of the store cover the years 1645 to 1700 and are more than mere ledgers, for their pages include intriguing stories. Innumerable entries testify to Pynchon's intimacy with the natives.

JOHN PYNCHON'S STUDY OF THE NAMES OF THE MONTHS

From the Pynchon Account Book, with the Judd Papers in the Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Pap sap quoho, & Lowatanassick they say are both one: And then if they be reckned both for one: they reckon but 12. month to ye yeare as we doe. And they make ye yeare to begine in Squannikesos (as far as I yet can understand y^m) & so call ye first month.

1—Squan ni kesos	pt of Aprill & pt of May When they set Indian corne.
2—Moone squa nimock kesos	pt of May & pt of June When ye women weed their corne.
3—Tow wa kesos	pt of June & pt of July When they hill Ind. corne.
4—Matterl la nawkesos	When squashes are ripe & Ind beanes begin to be eatable.
5—Mi cheen nee kesos	When Ind. corne is eatable.
6—Pa?? qui taqunk kesos	Ye middle between harvest & eat- ing Ind. corne.
7—Pepe warr	Bec of white frosts on ye grass & grain.
8—Qunni kesos	
9—Pap sap quoho	About ye 6th day of January or Lowatanassick so caled bec: they account it ye midle of winter.
10—Squo chee kesos	Bec: ye sun hath strength to thaw.
11—Wee picum milcom	pt of February & pt of March. Bec: ye ice in ye river is allgon.
12—Na mossack kesos	pt of March & pt of Aprill. Bec: of catching fish.

In December, 1658, John Pynchon charged "to Seanan, the Wethersfield sachem, four yards of trading cloth and one yard of

shag cotton which Kackionieh and Neesumbawcum, two other Wethersfield Indians engage shall be satisfied". At the same time were charges to "Seancut, a Hartford Indian 1¾ yards of shag cotton" and "to Seancut's squaw, 2½ yards of red trading cloth". "Robin, a Wethersfield Indian had 2½ yards of shag cotton" and "Japhet, the Indian that was Mr. Fitch's man had two yards of red cotton". Pynchon was ever just to the natives, yet he exacted payment in full. He noted,—“In page twenty of old book, John the Indian owes me ever since 1659, sixteen shillings six pence and may well allow me twenty shillings”. On July 14, 1661 “Jack Commolan (Nosatuck of Nipnet, his son) was trusted for two shoes for which he promises me a great skin of beaver”. Looming large below the entry is the word “Paid”. On June 30, 1666 Pynchon “lent to Chuckehoagg, one bushel of Indian corn. To pay me after harvest”. On January 1, 1667 Nathaniel Ely was charged five shillings on account of a payment “to an Indian, Squompe, for bringing your horses to Chickuppy river, for which I agreed with him a bushel of Indian corn apiece”. On July 11, 1671 “John Russell, junior, pastor of Hadley” was asked to reimburse Pynchon for one pound, “payment to the Indians who brought your negro man and the canoe from the Indian fort”.

By continuous steps, Pynchon converted his merchandise and his wampum into cash or its equivalent. From the Indians he received furs and land. The furs he shipped to England; the lands he leased on shares or sold to his associates. From the English he received for his wares, either lands, produce or labor. So the endless chain continued.

On page 214 of the second volume of *Pynchon's Account Books* appear complete details of the manner of payment to Umpanchala.

Umpanchela ye Indian Sachem & owner of ye Land at Norwotog hath taken up of me towards pay for his land wch he promises to sell.

Imprims.

Sept. 23	2 yds. of Bilboe rug	01-15-00
1659.	red shag cotton 6 ^s blew Trad. cloth 6 ^s	00-12-00
	wampam 2 fad. 6 h.	00-13-00
	a shurt	00-10-00

all is 14 fadam.

Feb. 13.59.	1 coate	5 fad.	} 01-12-06
	1 pr. breeches	1 fad.	
	red shag	5 h.	} 01-15-00
	in wampam	7 fadam	
	in wainpam	2 fad.	00-10-00
	More, a coate	5 fad.	} 05-02-06
	in wampam	15 fad. 5 h.	

all is 36 fad.

50 faddam in all

LAND-PURCHASE TECHNIQUE

255

Apr. 12 1660.	14 fadam, viz	{ a coate Cotton Wamp.	5 fad. 1 " 2 h. 7 " 8 h.	}	03-10-00
More Apr. 13th	10 fadam, viz	{ a gun red shag Wamp.	6 " 5 h. 1 " 2 h. 2 " 3 h.	}	02-10-00
Apr. 14th More	two blew coates	10 fadam			02-10-00
More Apr. 16th	16 fad. in a coate, 1 pr. of breeches & 10 fad. of wampam				04-00-00
in all 100 fadam is ye sum of					25-00-00

More dlrd ye 16th day of Aprill 1660	one shurt at 2 fad. is				00-10-00
Apr. 24th 1660	in shag cotton In wampam		1 fad. 7 fad.		00-05-00 01-15-00
Apr. 25th (60)	red shag 15 h & Wampam 8 fad. 5 h. is 10 fad.				02-10-00
Apr. 27th	red shag 12 h. Wampam 3 fad. 8 h. & a coate 5 fad, Wampam		10 fad. 01 fad. 1/2		02-10-00 00-07-06
May 9 (60)	In wampam 2 Coates		08 fad. 1/2 10 fad.		02-02-06 02-10-00
May 17	a blew Wastcote & 10 Fad. wamp		12 fad. 4 h.		03-02-00
May 19	In wampam		03		00-15-00
June 1 (60)	In wampam In wampam		04 6 h. 01		01-03-00 00-05-00
June 7 (60)	A coate 5 fad. Wampam 5 fad.		10		02-10-00
June 19	In wampam 1 coate 5 fad. sh. cot. 3 f. & red sh. 6 h. & wampam 4 h. }				02-10-00 02-05-00
In all is 100 fad.					25-00-00
& above is 100 fadam in ye sum of					
June 20 1660.	Blew shag cotton red shag cot. 14 h. & S. wamp.		1 fad. 8 hands 2 " 2 hands		00-09-00 00-11-00
July 4 (60)	2 Coates shag In wampam To Joseph Parsons sum at		20 02 14		05-00-00 00-10-00 03-10-00

July 10th 1660.	a coate & wampam dlrd at Joseph Parsons howse	10		02-10-00
	To paymt to Mr. Goodwin	02	8 h.	00-14-00
	To wampam	07	2 h.	01-16-00
July 30th 1660	To more wampam 5 fad. & a coate 5 fadam is	10		02-10-00
August 23 (60)	To black wampam & shag	07	}	03-00-00
	To a red Coate	05		
Sept. 6 (60)	To 2 fadam for yr being drunk To wampam, 4 fad. & yr *****	}	10	02-10-00
Sept. 14	To wampam 4 fad. but by yr } Importunity I give one	}	03	00-15-00
	To a Kettle *** *****			
		05		01-05-00
		100 fad.		25-00-00

100 fadam above is 200 fad. all, w^{ch} is
300 fad. w^{ch} makes y^e sum of

75-00-00

So much I ingaged to him for his land at Nalwotogg & have p^d
him all to his owne content in y^e p'ticular aboves^d,

Sept. 1660. This Acot. set off with Hadley Towne, it being p^d for
y^e Purchase of their Land. I have Reckned it wth them.

Sept. 1660.

The Towne of Hadley, Dr.

To y^e Purchase of their land on y^e west side of y^e River

£75-00-00

Thus the transaction was completed. On July 10, 1660, Umpanchela had executed the formal deed to Pynchon which he assigned to the Hadley settlers. How the town of Hadley paid him is not indicated, but, in other similar cases, he often accepted in full payment, a sizable tract in a wilderness that was about to become a settled community, as in this instance.

The foregoing indicates that in his negotiations with the Indians, Pynchon's computations were in fathoms and hands, which were translated into pounds, shillings and pence in after dealings with the English.

A condensation of Umpanchela's account shows that he received for his land,—

142½ fathom of wampum	35-12-06
One gun	01-12-06
One kettle and an undecipherable item	01-05-00
14 coats @ 1-5-0	17-10-00
2 “ @ 2-10-0	05-00-00
2 pair of breeches @ 5s	00-10-00
1 blue waist coat	00-12-00
2 shirts @ 10s	01-00-00
2 yards bilboa cloth @ 17s-6d	01-15-00
Blue trading cloth	00-06-00
Cotton cloth	00-06-00
Shag cloth of various colors	03-17-00
Debt due to Joseph Parsons	03-10-00
“ “ “ William Goodwin	00-14-00
Court fine for drunkenness	00-10-00
One undecipherable item	01-00-00
<hr/>	
300 fathom of wampum equal	£75-00-00

All this shows that in a year's time, this one Indian received of Pynchon £75 worth of wares (all at a profit to the trader) having a present-day value of perhaps \$2,000. This English trader's operations were so extensive that there should be little wonder that he became one of the wealthy men of the Valley.

Umpanchela's deed provided “yt all ye Indian corne feilds or old planted ground above Wequetayyage shall come to ye English after his death, and yn ye Indians to have and injoy only ye old planted ground in Wequetayyage and down to ye brook Cappowong-seate alias Mattoolanick”.

Page 215 of Pynchon's second volume evidences that, despite this provision, this finery-loving native could not restrain his yearning for European gewgaws. This reads,—

Sept. 29th, 1660. Trusted Umpancheale one coate at 5 fadam of wampam for wch he ingages to me his land wch is at Nattacouse, that is to say, 4 or 5 little Indian feilds or else I am to have come of his old Indian corne feilds at Wequittayyag 5 fad.
also for red shag cotton 2 fad. 6 h.
sum is 01-18-0

Novembr 28th 1660. Trusted Umpanchee for wch he ingages his cornfeilds below Wequittayyag 6 fad.

For some of his old ground below Wequittayyag

In wampam	02 fad. 5 h.
1 pr. Breeches	01 2
red shag cotton	00 08
sum is	02-12-6

Decembr 17, 1660. Umpancheel desired to be trusted as followeth for wch he Pawnes all his land in Wequittayyag all ye corne feilds & what ever he reserved is now morgaged for

1 Red coate	5 fad. 5 h.
2 ***** coates	11
2 yd. shag cot.	2 4
2 Kersey	4
	<hr/>
	19 fad. 3 h.

If I am not p^d in Bever when he comes from Koakeg, all his land is to be mine.

Dec. 25-60. Trusted him on ye same acot.

one red cote 2 knives	5 fad. 9 h.
Umpanchee owes me on a gun he had 16 Dec. 1660	2 0
red shag 14 h. knives 9 h.	2 3
more he owes me	2 4
	<hr/>

Sum is 7^{li} 19^s 6^d

Decembr. 1660. Umpancheale having engaged his cornefeilds at Nattacouse & Wequittayyag & his old ground below Wequittayyag all his corne feilds wch he had reserved he now make over all to me wch I take of him for Hadley Towne & yt for ye sum above:

viz. {	in Sept. 1660 as above he had	1-18-00
	in Nov. 60 as above	2-12-06
	in Dec. as above	7-19-06
		<hr/>
		12-10-00

This Posted to Hadley acot I having bought out all Umpancheals ground yt he reserved, for ye use of ye Towne of Hadley.

De. (60) The Towne of Hadley, Dr.

To Umpancheale for all his corne feilds and old ground 12-10-00

In all early purchases from the Indians, the natives retained about everything of value to themselves, as at Springfield in 1636 they reserved "all that ground that is now planted and liberty to take fish and deer, ground nuts, walnuts, akornes and sasachiminesh, or a kind of pease". So Umpanchala, in 1660, had reserved for his people, in addition to their planting grounds, "liberty to hunt deere or other wild creatures and to take fish and to sett wigwoms on ye comons and to take wood and trees for use".

In addition, the natives were inveterate beggars, continually returning for additional compensation after all agreements had been fulfilled by the purchasers. At Springfield, in 1636, to close finally his long negotiations, Pynchon was forced to allow to Wrutherna, "two coats over and above the said particulars expressed". In the hope of further inducements, Indians, supposedly acquiescing in a



Pittsfield from Washington Mountain

sale, deferred setting their marks. Pynchon bought the Chicopee tract on April 20, 1641, yet on May 24th, "when Secousk sett her hand, Mr. Pynchon gave her twelve hands of wampom and a knife". On October 9, 1643, "when Jancompowin sett his hande Mr. Pynchon gave him a coate and knife. He came not to sett his hand to this writtinge till this day". Not until June 27, 1644 was the transaction concluded when "the woman called Secousk, who was the widow of Kenix, came again to Mr. Pynchon, desyringe a further reward in respect she said that she had not a full coat as some others had; thereupon Mr. Pynchon gave her a childe coate of redd cotton which came to eight hand of wampom and a glasse and a knife which came to above two hands of wampom more, and she was fully satisfied.

Also Nippumsuit had another large coate for his sister that he said had right in the land which came to sixteen shillings''.

Eventually the sorely-tried English learned their lesson and insisted that all the grantors make their marks jointly. Regarding an uncompleted purchase at Springfield in 1674, Elizur Holyoke testified in 1679 that "they coming one at a tyme to me to subscribe it, when I told them they must come all together, the want of which was the only obstruction, for they often severally acknowledged the sale and this writing to be according to their minds and meaning''.

Though Pynchon bought of Umpanchala "all his corne feilds and old ground that he had reserved", it is apparent that with familiar tactics the wily Indian, by his "importunities", wheedled Pynchon into allowing him squatter's rights in what is still known as "Indian Hollow" and that he construed these rights to be rights of ownership. There the squalid band remained, a pest to be endured. The Colony laws provided "that the English shall keep their cattle from destroying the Indian's corn in any ground where they have right to plant and if any of their corn be destroyed for want of fencing or herding, the town shall make satisfaction. And for the encouragement of the Indians toward the fencing of their corn fields, such towns, farms or persons whose cattle shall annoy them shall direct, assist and help them in felling of trees, ryving and sharpening of rayls and holing of posts, allowing one Englishman to three or more Indians, and shall also draw the fencing into place for them and allow one man a day or two toward the setting up the same and either lend or sell them tools to finish it''.

Here was a situation too burdensome to be continued, and in despair the town of Hadley appointed a committee of four to find a solution of the problem. The fencing of the entire "Hollow" being too expensive an undertaking even to consider, Umpanchala was on January 17, 1661-2, persuaded to sell again "the land yt I reserved to myself in Weequetaiogg under ye name of Chickons Cattones Akees, in all ye borders and partes ajasent thereunto, even all and evry persell of ye sd land''. The once-bit twice-shy settlers were determined that the controversy should not be prolonged by reason of legal verbiage. The sole consideration for the transfer was an agreement "to give to the sd Umpanchala, five acres of land within ye compass of ye sd land and to fence it next spring with a good sufficient ordinary fence in English account, and wt of ye sd five acres is not broken up, to break it up. And so broken up to leave it Umpanchala as his proper possession, provided yt haveing once broken it up and fenced it are not to maintaine it, but ye sd Umpanchela is to maintaine ye same''.

Thus did Umpanchala dispose of his great heritage for little more than "a riband to stick in his coat''. He had previously agreed that any property remaining to him at the time of his death should become town property. In any event, when the Indians deserted the Valley at the close of King Philip's War, all remaining Indian lands

were taken over by the English. Never again did Umpanchela's name appear in the records in connection with landed property.

The foregoing is a typical exposition of Pynchon's methods. Though varying in details, the fundamentals of his transactions were consistently similar.

On April 10, 1674, he received from Mettawompe alias Nattawwasawet a deed for a tract that eventually became a part of Montague and Wendell, but the negotiations were initiated July 1, 1661, when the Indian was debited for "two large coats, almost four yards, eighteen fadam", this amount showing a price concession "because moth eaten". So continued the delivery of "blew coats, red wast coats and girdles" until the account was balanced thirteen years later with the entry "received by buying yr land for Swampfeild, 24-00-00".

The transfer of the South Hadley territory was completed on August 8, 1662, though a basic agreement had been arrived at on June 30th of that year, when the Indian chief Wequogan, with Squompe, his son and heir, came to Pynchon's office. Prompted by the natives, on the right hand side of a page of his ledger, Pynchon drew a map of the territory, from the upper side of Hadley Neck, down south to the Falls where Holyoke now is, including the Indian names for the mountains, rivers and some localities. At the left appears a memorandum of the details of the mutual agreement for the sale, followed by a running account of merchandise delivered up to the date of the formal deed, less than six weeks later. Wequogan and Squompe were numbered among Pynchon's "bright young men", whom he made frequent use of in his affairs and he had taught them to be prompt and businesslike.

CHAPTER XXVI

King Philip's War

FOR forty years the English at Springfield were at peace with the Indians, who from the very first were an enigma to them. It had been confidently expected that they would be of great assistance in domestic affairs and could be depended upon for at least a regular supply of corn. They were apt in imitation and skilful in the use of their hands, and it was hoped that they would readily learn the mechanical trades and greatly benefit both themselves and the English. By various wiles they, from time to time, secured the guns prohibited by law and with them could outshoot the average Englishman. They were irked by the meager supply of powder available, though confident of their ability to fill their needs could they but learn the manufacturing process. In 1637 they abducted two girls from Wethersfield, from whom they expected to acquire the secret, but when they found that the girls knew nothing of the process, they reluctantly released them.

While the women were more or less industrious, the men were found undependable and the settlers learned to place little reliance on them. "If you do your business by Indians", said Pynchon in 1644, "you will find it dearer than to send an Englishman". Pynchon always took the position that such natives as did not sell their domain must be considered an independent and free people, subject only to their own laws, but if they sold their land and yet continued to occupy it, then their interests were common with those of the other occupants, and as their rights and privileges were equal, so their duties and restraints must be equal, as well. But restraint the Indians could not understand and though they were treated as members of the body politic, and were subjected to the same system of government as the English, they were unable to recognize the value of a code of ethics of which they had no comprehension. They were of a sociable nature, enjoying nothing so much as idling about the village homes, with no comprehension of why their constant presence was unwelcome.

In November, 1639, as a measure of safety, it was ordered that no person should give, trade or lend any powder to an Indian and that every man should "train" one day in each month. In December, 1641, it was required that every member of the train band should have his gun at all times ready for instant service, keeping by it, a

pound of powder and twenty bullets. However, the careless acts of thoughtless and selfish individuals set at naught such provisions for the general welfare. Though Colony law prohibited the supplying of guns to the natives, the law was but lightly observed. In 1640 the widow of Thomas Horton was called before Magistrate Pynchon charged with "selling her husband's piece to the Indians". She protested that she had merely "lent it to an Indian because it lay spoiling in her cellar. The Indian is suddenly to bring it again and he left about six fathom of wampum in pawn for it. She knew of no order against it, and doth promise to take it home again. She cannot tell the Indian's name but it is an Indian of Agum". She was ordered "to get it home again speedily or else it would cost her dear, for no commonwealth would allow of such a misdemeanor". She, poor soul, was without influence, yet in 1659 the Worshipful Major John Pynchon, himself then a magistrate, had no hesitancy in boldly charging on his ledger for a gun that he delivered to Umpanchala, the Indian chief, in exchange for land. In 1656 John Pynchon, in a list of his personal tools at the shop of John Stewart the smith, included "a tool for making Indian hatchets", that is, tomahawks. Thus they sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind.

The seeds of the Indian assault on Springfield, on October 5, 1675, had been long in the sowing. The Indian of bow and arrow, the Indian of Pequot War days, was the occasion of little alarm, but the Indian of powder and ball was a menace to be seriously considered.

About 1661 there died Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags, who for forty years had been a steadfast friend and ally of the Pilgrims, leaving two sons, Wamsutta and Metacom, known to the English as Alexander and Philip. Alexander succeeded his father as head of the clan, but soon came to an untimely death, for which Philip accused the English of being responsible. He long sought an opportunity to avenge his brother, but had been chief for thirteen years before his plans were completed and he had confederated the various native groups into one organization bent on the extermination of the English.

The initial blow came in June, 1675, at Swanzey, when the savages sacked the village, burning houses and slaying the people. Similar destruction was wrought at Dartmouth, Middleborough, Taunton, and Mendon. In August, Brookfield was assaulted and the scene then shifted to the Connecticut Valley, where the Indians were driven off at Hatfield, but September first, attacks were made on Deerfield and Hadley and the following day at Northfield. On September 11th, came the Bloody Brook Massacre. The Indians felt confident of their supremacy and the frontier trembled at the thought of where the next blow might fall.

A decade before the outbreak of the conflict, the Indians of Springfield had been domiciled on the Long Hill reservation known as the Indian Fort, provided by the English for segregating them where their activities could be under constant supervision. The group comprised the entire body of local Indians, perhaps seventy-five in all,

including not more than twenty active men. At this juncture, inquiry being made amongst them, "the firmest assurances and pledges of their faithfulness and friendship were given".

There were then two schools of thought as to the most effective method of conducting the campaign. One provided for the calling out of the more active men of each town to provide a mobile army ready to promptly take to the field whenever disaster threatened. John Pynchon and many others objected to this plan, which left the individual towns unprotected. However, that group was overruled and Pynchon was given command of the valley troopers with headquarters at Hadley, where the forces were directed to assemble on October 4, 1675. Before setting out on that expedition, three substantial houses were garrisoned for the protection of the inhabitants. One of these was at the extreme lower end of the town, the home of Jonathan Burt (Main and Elmwood Streets) which had been built by Hugh Parsons. Further up the street the home of the widow Margaret Bliss was chosen (Main and Loring Streets). The third was the impregnable "Mansion House" of John Pynchon (Main at Fort Street).

In 1677 William Hubbard, pastor of the Ipswich Church, published a *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians* which is of especial interest to Springfield, for in 1672 the author's daughter, Margaret, married John Pynchon, Jr., thus providing him with a peculiar knowledge of the details of the local situation, which he outlined as follows:

"After the affair at Brookfield, the Indians were driven more westwardly into the woods between Hadley and Squakheag (Northfield) where they soon effected their design to leaven the Indians in that part of the country with the same prejudice and malice against the English with which they themselves were embittered, and in a few days the Hadley and Deerfield Indians withdrew from the English and assisted Philip and the Nipnets to destroy all the towns. At first, some of the Hadley Indians pretended real friendship for the English and offered to fight against Philip, but they fell into great suspicion and were required to bring in their arms to the English, but that very night they fled away.

"The Indians gathered together in those parts, growing more confident because of their success, began to talk of great matters, hoping that by degrees they might destroy all the towns thereabout. Their hopes were heightened by the accession of the Springfield Indians to their party, who had in appearance all this time stood firmest to the English of all in those parts. But they were easily persuaded to join with those of Hadley, there being so near alliance between them for the sachem of the Springfield Indians was the father of the Hadley sachem.

"The inhabitants of Springfield were not insensible of their danger and upon the first breaking forth of these troubles, had been treating with the Indians and had from them the firmest assurance of their friendship both by promises and hostages. Yet did those

faithless monsters plot with Philip's Indians to burn and destroy all Springfield. To that end they enticed away the hostages from Hartford and then received three-hundred of Philip's Indians into their fort, privately, in the night time, so that they were neither discerned nor suspected. So confident were such of the inhabitants as were most conversant with the Indians at their fort, that they would not believe that there was any such plot in hand, when it was strangely



Home of Jonathan Burt, South Main Street, Springfield

Garrisoned during King Philip's War.

revealed by one Toto, an Indian at Windsor, better affected to the English and so tidings were brought to Springfield, the night before, but the lieutenant of the town, Cooper by name, was so far from believing the stratagem, that in the morning, himself and another ventured to ride to the fort, to see whether things were so or not. The fort was about a mile from the town. When he came within a little thereof he met those bloody monsters, newly issued out of their Equus Trojanus to do their intended mischief. Divers of them presently fired upon him and shot him in several places through the body, yet being a man of stout courage, he kept to his horse until he recovered the next garrison house. His companion they shot dead, by this means giving an alarm to the town of their intended mischief, which was instantly fired in all places where there were no garrisons.

No doubt the whole town would have been destroyed but that a report of the plot being carried overnight, Major Treat came from Westfield in time for their rescue, but wanting boats to transport his men, could not do as much as he desired”.

“Major Pynchon, coming from Hadley with Captain Appleton and what forces they could bring along with them, thirty-two houses being first consumed, preserved the rest of the town. Amongst the ruins, the most sad was the house of Mr. Pelatiah Glover, minister of the town, furnished with a brave library. After some time spent in garrisoning the place and helping the inhabitants to secure what they had left, most of the soldiers returned to their headquarters at Hadley”.

Besides Lieutenant Thomas Cooper and Thomas Miller, killed at the first onslaught, Pentacost Bond, wife of John Matthews the cooper, was also slain. Richard Waite and Edmund Pryngradays were shot, the latter dying the following week of his wounds. That short autumn was a busy time for the survivors as the sun set shortly after five o'clock and much was to be done before dark. Livestock was rounded up, three graves were dug; three bodies were interred. It was imperative that a report be made to headquarters. This Pynchon addressed to the pastor of the Hadley Church and sent it off by a post rider in the dark of the night. The letter read:

“Springfield, Octo. 5, 1675.

“Reverend Sir,—

The Lord will have us lie in the dust before him. We that were full are emptied. But it is the Lord and blessed be His holy name. We came to a lamentable and woeful sight. The town in flames; not a house nor barn standing except old Goodman Branch's till we came to my house and then Mr. Glover's, John Hitchcock's and Goodman Stewart's burnt down, with barns, corn and all they had. A few standing about the meeting house and then from Mirick's downward, all burnt to two garrison houses at the lower end of the town. My grist mill and corn mill burnt down with some other houses and barns I had let out to tenants. All Mr. Glover's library burnt with all his corn so that he hath none to live on as well as myself and many more that have not for subsistence. They tell me thirty-two houses and the barns belonging to them are burnt and all the livelihood of the owners and what more may meet with the same strokes, the Lord only knows.

Many more had their estates burnt in these houses so that I believe forty families are utterly destitute of subsistence. The Lord show mercy to us. I see not how it is possible for us to live here this winter and if so, the sooner we are helped off, the better.

Sir, I pray you acquaint the honored Governor with this dispensation of God. I know not how to write, neither can I be able to

attend any public service. The Lord in mercy speak to my heart and to all our hearts is the real desire of,—

Yours to serve you.

JOHN PYNCHON.

I pray send down by the post, my doublet, coat linen &c, I left there, and papers &c."

Pastor Russell forwarded Pynchon's letter to Governor Leverett, and it is preserved in the State Archives in Boston. On otherwise vacant space on the sheet are appended sixty lines of shorthand of a system at present unknown. It is impossible to say whose hand penned it, but that it relates to the Springfield situation is evident, for in the text, the name of the Indian Wequogan is plainly to be seen in longhand. One day, some cryptogramist will decode the message and new bits will be added to the story of that disastrous day.

When forwarding Pynchon's letter to Governor Leverett, Pastor Russell supplemented it with one of his own, which read in part:

"Right Worshipfull,—

The enclosed from the Honored Major will give you such account as is with us to make. We have little to add, only that the houses standing are about thirteen. There appeared not, according to their estimate, above one-hundred Indians, of whom their own were the chief. Their old sachem, Wequogan, in whom as much confidence was put as in any of the Indians, was ringleader in word and deed. Another of their principle men cried out that he was one that burnt Quabaug and now would make them like to it. They were gone before Major Pynchon came in with his forces, which was about two or three of the clock. They signified their sense of his approach by their whoops or watchwords and were presently gone. Major Treat got down some hours sooner on the west side of the river, whose coming being perceived, five men went out of town and although persued by twenty Indians, carried over a boat which was filled with men, but the Indians, standing on the rivers bank, shot at them and shot one through the neck, who is not likely to recover. They durst not adventure to pass the river till Major Pynchon was come in and the Indians gone.

It was but the day before, viz, on the fourth of October that the garrison soldiers, about forty-five in number, left them. Our army had prepared all things in readiness to go forth on Monday at night against a considerable party discovered about five or six miles from Hadley, which was the occasion of calling forth these from Springfield. But the three alarms we met with and the tidings from Springfield wholly disappointed us."

On October 12th Captain Appleton wrote to the Governor that "in the account of Springfield houses we only presented the number of them on the east side of the river and in the town platt; for in

all on the west side and in the outskirts on the east side, there are about sixty houses standing and much corn in and about them''.

From the facts as related it is possible to reconstruct the situation rather completely. The forty-five men who had been engaged in protecting Springfield set off for Hadley on Monday, October fourth. News of the impending danger was received in Springfield late that night and was relayed to Hadley the following morning, but as the sun did not rise until after six o'clock, the post-rider did not set out in time to reach Hadley until the middle of the forenoon. It was well on toward noon before the two hundred troopers could be assembled, yet they reached Springfield by early afternoon.

Their route coincided rather closely with the present-day roads, but crossed the Chicopee River at the ford where Grape Street now is. From there the way followed much the line of the present Springfield Street to the Upper Causeway (Carew Street), thence to the Town Street.

From the height above the Springfield Hospital, the smoke from the ruins could be discerned and as Round Hill was neared, it was apparent that the numerous Pyncheon buildings there had all been destroyed, as were the few scattered houses on North Main Street. Nothing remained of the Miles Morgan home at Wharf Lane (Cypress Street), nor of the buildings on the Lane itself.

The first house standing intact was that of William Branch (Railroad Row) which had been built by John Cable in the earliest days of the town. Then wholly unharmed were the Pyncheon Mansion, Elizur Holyoke's home and the Henry Smith House, then owned by Thomas Cooper. Entirely destroyed were the parsonage (Vernon Street), Deacon Chapin's House, then owned by John Hitchcock his son-in-law (north side of Pyncheon Street) and the home and shop of John Stewart the blacksmith (south side of Pyncheon Street). Between that point and the present Bliss Street, all seven houses were standing, including that of Thomas Merrick (Bliss Street), due to the protection given by the snipers located in the watch-tower of the church. From Merrick's to the garrisoned Bliss House (Loring Street) all were gone and from there to Mill River, nothing remained but the garrisoned Burt House (Elmwood Street). In addition, both the grist-mill and the saw-mill on Mill River were wholly destroyed as was the House of Correction (Maple Street at Temple).

Richard Saltonstall said in 1675, that "on the first of October news came to Boston that the Indians had burnt the farmhouse of Major Pynchon, situate near Springfield (Suffield) and killed many cattle and burnt much corn. It is judged that Major Pynchon's damage may amount to eleven or twelve hundred pounds sterling. Following that disaster Pynchon repeated a former plea that he be relieved of any public duties. On September 30, he wrote the Council:

"It is too much that I should still trouble you with my continued desire for a rebate from the charge you have laid on me,

which I am necessitated to do, that the work may not miscarry by so unable a manager. It were far better some more meet instrument were employed in the service and I discharged. Besides the distressed state of my affairs at home, the sorrows and afflictions of my dear wife undergoes and her continual calls to me for relief and succor, she being almost overwhelmed with grief and troubles and in many straits and perplexities, which would be somewhat helped and alleviated by my presence there''. In 1677, Hubbard said that after the assault on Springfield, "Major Pynchon, being so full of incumbrances, by reason of the late spoils done to him and his neighbors, could not any longer attend the service of commander-in-chief as he had done before, whereof according to his earnest request, the Council eased off that burden and Captain Samuel Appleton was ordered to succeed in taking charge of the soldiers in those upper towns''.

At the age of forty-nine, John Pynchon was a broken man. He advocated the abandonment of the town, but stouter hearts prevailed and the inhabitants were directed by the Council to maintain their position as a frontier outpost against the enemy.

As the Indians had destroyed the town's grist-mill it was necessary to carry grain ten miles to Westfield for grinding. Hence, three weeks later, on October 27, 1675, tragedy came again to those harassed people. The diary of the Rev. Edward Taylor of Westfield relates that "our soil was moistened by the blood of three Springfield men, young Goodman (John) Dumbleton, who came to our mill and two sons of Goodman Brooks (John, aged eighteen and William, aged twenty) who came here to look after some iron ore on the land he had lately bought of Mr. John Pynchon, who, being persuaded by Springfield folk, went to accompany them but fell in the way by the first assault of the enemy''.

Long unused implements were brought out and grain was ground by hand. There were anxious days, and sad days. Three of the town's stalwarts died; Deacon Samuel Chapin on November 11th, Nathaniel Ely on Christmas day and Elizur Holyoke on February 6th. At Longmeadow died Lawrence Bliss, son of a gallant mother, Margaret Bliss. John Leonard was killed by the Indians on February 24th, Pelatiah Morgan March 1st, and William Hunter July 4th. On October 31, 1676, Captain Samuel Holyoke died of exertions at the Falls Fight.

The heart of the native confederacy collapsed with the death of King Philip in August, 1676. Hubbard said in 1676, that "as for the Indians that joined in Philip's quarrel, it is apparent what end they came to. As for the rest of the Indians, whether Nipnet, Nashaway, Pacomptuck, Hadley or Springfield Indians, after their separation about last July, they went west and about the middle of August last (1676) a great party of them were observed to pass by Westfield and were judged to be about two hundred. They were pursued by troops under Major Talcott as far as Ausatunnoag river (Housatonic) in the middle way betwixt Westfield and the Dutch

river and Fort Albany where he overtook them, killing and taking forty five prisoners, twenty five whereof were fighting men, without the loss of any of his company save a Mohegin Indian. Many of the rest were badly wounded as appeared by the bushes being much besmeared with blood. It is written since from Albany that there were sundry lost besides the forty five afore mentioned, to the number of three score in all and also that an hundred and twenty of them are since dead of sickness. This day also (1677) letters were received from Major Pynchon of Springfield, but without mention



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of any appearance of the enemy in that quarter, whereby we are encouraged to believe that they shall never rise any more to make further disturbance''.

John Pynchon gradually recovered his confidence. An unhurried survey of the situation showed that in the town plat there had been forty houses in all, of which thirty had been destroyed, while in the outlying districts of Longmeadow, West Springfield and Chicopee were sixty houses, none of which had been molested. Hence, out of a total of one hundred and two houses, seventy-three remained, or nearly three-quarters. Unfortunate as the outlook was, it was by no means hopeless, if further devastation could be prevented. Pynchon's eldest son Joseph, who had been engaged in the practice of medicine in England, returned to Springfield, and at the June, 1679, session of the Court he was made Associate Magistrate for the County, and in 1681 and 1682 he represented Springfield at the General Court. He died in Boston, unmarried, December 30, 1682.

Joseph's younger brother, John Pynchon, Jr., was married in September, 1672, to Margaret Hubbard of Ipswich and settled in

Boston as a trader, where two sons and a daughter were born to them. After the Springfield disaster, John also returned to Springfield. In 1678 the elder Pynchon built for this son, a substantial home on the north half of his own home lot (Main Street, at Hampden). Even then the Indian menace was in his mind for, on June 3, 1678, he was granted "liberty to set up a flanker into the street at the east end of his new house that is now building on the north side of his own homelot, which flanker he desires to set into the street five feet broad and ten feet in length, so long as there may be need of a flanker".

In 1809, the church parsonage having been sold, this house was bought by Rev. Samuel Osgood, newly ordained pastor of the First Church, who occupied this home and so continued until he sold it in 1836, to provide for the laying out of Hampden Street.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Indian Fort at Springfield

“Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set.”
Proverbs XX:28.

SIXTY years ago the site of the present Saint Vincent's Mission House on Long Hill in Springfield, was known as “the Storrs lot”. From its plowed fields youngsters of successive generations gleaned quantities of stone implements. Their fathers told them that these had been fashioned by Indians who had a fort there in the seventeenth century, in which was concocted the plot to burn the little town of Springfield in 1675. So the tale was passed on from father to son for more than two centuries.

It was all a matter of such common knowledge as to be unquestioned, until, on a map accompanying the report of the Springfield Park Commissioners for 1899, a section at the western limits of Forest Park, known as the Field-Rumrill lot, was designated as the site of the old Indian Fort.

The germ of this fallacy seems to have originated with Daniel J. Marsh, then President of the Park Commission. In the Commissioners' report for 1893, was a story signed by him, entitled “Forest Park, Now and Then”, which read in part:

“The point of land on the Connecticut River front known as the Field and Rumrill lots has all the indications of having been a stockade or fort and grand lookout. This point is where the beautiful river makes a great bend to the south, thus giving the most extended and noble view to the north, west and south of any place on the river. Long Hill, or Fort Hill, of which Storrs' lot is a part, was also occupied as a stronghold. On what is now the southern promontory of the Park, on October 4, 1675, King Philip, with about three hundred braves, joined the local sachems. That night they moved forward to Fort Hill. The next day, October 5, 1675, the whole force of the Indians rushed upon the town, killing three men and one woman, and destroying with fire, fifty seven buildings.”

Some of this story will stand analysis. Mr. Marsh certainly made no positive claim that a stockade ever existed on the Field-Rumrill lot. He recognized the fact that the stronghold on Fort Hill was the sallying point for the raid on the town. His statement that the Park

promontory was the convening point for the allies bent on destroying the town, is quite possibly true. It is known that the local natives were reinforced by outsiders for the occasion. There must have been some predetermined meeting place, remote from the town, and this was as logical a one as any. If only he had omitted the name of Philip, and had merely suggested that the promontory would have been a pleasing place for a stockade, it would all have been fairly well within the truth.

There is no reason supported by fact for saying that there ever was an Indian village on the Park lot and there is even no old-time tradition that such was the case. Such examination as it has been possible to make on Park property, gives no evidence of a village or stockade at that point. It is quite possible, that during the thousands of years that the Indians inhabited the Valley, various roving bands may have had temporary encampments on such a sightly spot, so accessible to the River, but both documentary and physical evidence are lacking that any settled community ever occupied the spot. Occasionally a flint chip is seen, and frequently an arrow point, but no more than can be readily found on the average plowed field in that vicinity.

From an Indian standpoint, there is no comparison between the two sites, as actual observation on the spot makes manifest. The Park lot is on much lower ground, being at the memorial monument to the Indian, Totoe, but seventy-four feet above the River, while the Storrs' lot is one hundred thirty-six feet. It has a commanding, though rather intimate view, yet the slope is gradual and hard to defend.

Actually, the Park lot would be a most untenable location for a defensive work. A stockade placed at the brow of the slope down to the river, would be open to attack from the higher ground south of it. If placed on that higher ground, the landing of an enemy on the river shore could not be detected from it, and the sloping ground between any such stockade and the river bluff would provide a menace which the natives would never have ignored in selecting a defensive site.

The Storrs' lot is strategically unique. The ground there, before the modern fills were made, was of an unusual formation, being cut through with deep ravines, between which narrow headlands projected. On one of these jutting bluffs, with originally but a narrow neck connecting it with the plateau proper, stood the village. On three sides are precipitous slopes to the river level. The view up and down the River and to the western hills far exceeds, in extent, that from the Park lot. An added feature is the view up the Agawam; a native highway of great importance. One has but to view the scene from both points to realize why one is so superior to the other. To one versed in Indian lore there would never be the slightest question as to which site would have been chosen by the natives; either prehistoric or historic.

The English called a permanent stocked Indian village a "fort". In 1665 John Winthrop said, "There are two forts of Indians near

Springfield'', in speaking of the community on Fort Hill, at Westfield and the one by the Agawam. In other words, an Indian village was always ''forted'' or surrounded by a stockade. Under no circumstances would there have been two such villages, so closely adjacent. Both of these sites were in the territory which was the particular property of a single meager band under the leadership of Wequogan (alias Wrutherna or Wulluther), Menis and Napompenam. Neither their numbers nor known habits required two fortified villages in this limited area, though the proximity of the two sites is scarcely realized until one looks across from one to the other.

Furthermore, the story of King Philip's visit to Springfield is based on the most flimsy tradition, and even that limits his stay to a single night, which seems hardly sufficient reason for giving his name permanent local fame. Even this tradition is not supported by known facts, which are these:

The very name of Philip was a byword and terror to the colonists of southern New England. He was a well-known public character, in frequent enforced conference with the authorities. It is reasonable to suppose that if he had been present in person, he surely would have been recognized and mentioned in the correspondence and reports concerning the disaster. John Pynchon, leader of the local forces, was overwhelmed by the destruction of his town and asked the Rev. John Russell to notify Governor Leverett of the facts and appeal for help. Russell reported that ''their old sachem, Wequogan, in whom as much confidence was put as in any of their Indians was ringleader in word and deed''. Wequogan was a chief well known locally, from the time in 1636, when as Wrutherna, he sold his land to Pynchon. Shortly after that he removed to Hadley, and through marriage with Awonusk of the Nonotucks, he became chief of the Hadley Indians. He it was, and not Philip, who instigated, planned and led the raid on the town. The reports of Pastor Russell, Major Pynchon and Captain Appleton, and their repeated appeals for help, all paint the picture at its very blackest, and surely they would have included the menace of Philip's personality if he had been present. Yet, in none of the voluminous correspondence of the day is he so much as mentioned in connection with the Springfield affair, while on the contrary, Wequogan's part is related in detail. Recorded history gives these facts. It is not a matter of ''old wives' tales''.

Yet, despite all this, on the Park Commissioners' map of 1899 was inscribed, ''King Phillips (sic) Indian Stockade and Outlook, Oct. 4, 1675'', and for more than twenty-five years thereafter, a map was annually issued with the same inscription, including the incorrect spelling and lack of the possessive apostrophe.

In 1922 a proposal to erect on the tract an erroneously conceived reproduction of the supposed stockade evoked a storm of protest. To this, Park Superintendent Charles M. Ladd was quoted as replying that he was not ''much afraid of what the historians might say about the authenticity of the site. He had some historical matter some-

where, he believed, that placed the fort on Pecousic hill, and if an Indian stockade never existed there before, it was a pretty good idea to put one there”.

Of such stuff is “history” made.

It is quite obvious that Mr. Ladd’s “historical matter” was related to the Marsh story of some twenty years earlier, which in the interim had grown as such stories do. Fortunately, a change of heart intervened and the stockade project was abandoned.



Turners Falls Dam, Turners Falls

It is a great pity that posterity should be misled by misconstruction of known facts. The meager incontrovertible details of the old days that have been so laboriously garnered should be cherished and preserved. Incorrect history is worse than no history at all. It is a vicious thing and starts the weaving of a tangled web. If Henry Ford was right and all history is “bunk”, then the whole matter is of little moment. But if history is worth recording at all, it should be accurately recorded for the benefit of generations yet unborn, that will have an even greater interest in the tales of the old happenings as they farther and farther recede.

Apparently the name of King Philip became inadvertently attached to the town of Springfield because the attack was an episode of King Philip’s War. But there are names in plenty of local Indians that should be perpetuated rather than that of one from Rhode Island who probably never saw the town. The records have preserved euphonious local Indian names. The chief who was later known as Wequogan, was earlier called Wulluther and still earlier was known as Wrutherna. It would be most appropriate to speak of the Park

headland as Wulluther's Lookout, or Wrutherna's Camp, or Wequogan's Rendezvous. A reproduction of an Algonquin stockade, wherever it might be located in Forest Park, would have great educational value, provided that it was not represented to be something it actually was not. But it should be an accurate representation of the stockades built by local Indians, and it is most certain that no local talent exists, having the knowledge requisite for designing one.

Any attempt to determine the location of the stockaded village or fort from which the Indians sallied to the burning of Springfield during King Philip's War must begin with the earliest records of the town. When, in 1635, William Pynchon's advance scouts selected the site for the future city, they chose the land about the junction of the Connecticut and Agawam rivers. There they found vast open fields, inundated by the spring floods and so annually fertilized by alluvial deposits. To the south and west was high ground sufficient to provide for a town of a size beyond their wildest dreams. On the bluff south of the Agawam River was the stockaded village of the little band of natives, with their planting grounds on the meadows below.

It was an ideal site for a pioneer colony, one of whose prime requisites was a cleared tract which would provide green food for summer use of horses and cattle and hay for the winter. Such a source of supply was absolutely necessary for the existence of the colony, until other land could be cleared, broken up and seeded to English grass and grain.

"Therefore be careful in the spring", wrote John Smith in his *Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters*, "to mow the swamps and low islands of Auguan, where you may have harsh sheere-grass to make hay of till you can clear ground to make pasture, which will have as good grasse as can grow anywhere".

This textbook of *Advice for Inexperienced Settlers* was undoubtedly well known to Pynchon and made full use of by him.

It should be understood that the place name, Agawam, was, as Indian names always are, a descriptive appellation, meaning in this case "ground overflowed by water". It was a term in common use by the natives of the Atlantic seaboard, varying in form according to the dialect of the district. At Ipswich, Massachusetts, such ground was known as *agawam*. Elsewhere it was called *augoam*, *aguwom* and *agaam*, but the meaning was always the same.

In Pynchon's deed of 1636, which consummated his negotiations through Ahaughton, an Indian of the Massachusetts tribe, who acted as interpreter, it is called "Agaam alias Agawam". This suggests that Agawam was the Massachusetts and Agaam the local form of the same term, especially as many of Pynchon's letters were dated at "Agaam".

The exact location of the Indian "fort" at this place is not known. In 1662 there was "granted of the swamp land over Agawam river, over against the Indian Fort to Lawrence Bliss 7 acres, to Elizur Holyoke 3 acres, to Richard Sikes 4 acres and to Miles Morgan

3 acres''. Owing to many changes in the course of the Agawam River, whose banks were the bounds of many of these early grants, it is today impossible to determine their location, and so the location of the fort, "over against" which they lay, but they can be very closely approximated so that the general location of the fort is well known.

A tentative agreement having been made with the natives, permanent settlement was begun in the spring of 1636, which brought to the Indians a realization of the nuisances that the English were bringing in their train. Cattle trampled down their cornfields, while hogs rooted them up, and ravaged their underground pits, or "barns" in which they stored their corn. Ignorance of the local dialect made it hard for the settlers to argue with the natives or to explain that the purchasers of the land were entitled to its benefits. It was hopeless to attempt to confine such a vast area, especially with fences which would be swept away by flood waters and have to be replaced each spring.

In his dilemma, Pynchon decided to move across the River, placing the Connecticut between his livestock and the Indian cornfields. The necessity for such a move was a great disappointment as the new location had little to recommend it. Here was a narrow strip of sand on which the town street was laid out, and along which the houses were built. On one side was the river, on the other a swamp, with high hills and pine barrens beyond. This swamp, extending from Mill River to beyond Round Hill, was a most valuable asset, providing at least partial pasturage and mowing. The timber on the hillside was of value, but the plains above were so sandy as to be almost worthless.

On Saturday, May 14, 1636, the location of the town plot was agreed upon and the following Monday the house lots were laid out and distributed to the pioneers. Thus the new town was born, under handicaps that threatened the success of the whole enterprise.

Almost in despair Pynchon went back to Boston early in June, in search of a competent interpreter who could reason with the obstinate natives. "The best ground at Agawam", he wrote Winthrop on June 2, "is so incombered with Indians that I shall lose half the benefit yearly, and am compelled to plant (*i. e.* settle) on the opposite side to avoid trespassing thereon".

He returned the following month with Ahaughton, an Indian interpreter, to assist in bargaining with the natives. Few concessions could be gained, however, and finally, with the idea that a definite understanding, however meager, was absolutely imperative, a formal conveyance was drawn up, to which the Indians set their marks on July 15, 1636.

By it they sold a tract on both sides of the Connecticut, the east side bounds being from Chicopee River to Longmeadow Brook. On the west side, the tract extended from a bit above the mouth of the Chicopee River to the bluff below the Agawam River. No land was sold south of the bluff below the Agawam, that being the site of the

native village. Out of this tract the Indians specifically reserved their old planting grounds and about everything else that was of value to them, including the right to fish, hunt deer, gather acorns, walnuts, ground nuts and *sasachiminesh*, "or a kind of pease", readily identified as cranberries.

For this deed the settlers gave wampum, implements and clothing that were priceless to the natives, and obligated themselves to pay for any corn damaged by cattle and to keep all swine on the east side of the river until after harvest time.

But these wild, free people had little comprehension of what they had done, and little realized that they were not free to roam the land at will and use it as they wished. Spurred by the industrious habits of the English and finding a ready market for the corn which they could grow so easily with the tools supplied them by the white men, they continuously enlarged their corn fields beyond the limits of the ground reserved by them. By 1640 these extensions had become so unreasonable that a committee was appointed "to restrayne ye Indians from breaking up any new ground or from planting any yt was broken up ye last year".

Such controversies continued through the years. The court records are replete with stories of contentions between the two races. Physical violence seems to have been seldom resorted to, and the Indian was given to understand that redress of wrongs could always be had through the courts. Suits were brought by English against Indians and vice versa, but the verdicts show extreme sympathy with the natives on the part of the juries. In every way, efforts were made to assimilate the natives; to make friends and neighbors of them. In their ignorance, the English expected to make house servants and field workers of them, but they were too indolent and unreliable to be of any use to themselves or others. "If you do your business by Indians", wrote William Pynchon in 1644, "you will find it much dearer than to send an Englishman".

After some thirty years of these annoyances, and after William Pynchon had returned permanently to England, his son John Pynchon decided to clear the west side of the natives. By this time a new generation had come into power among the Indians who realized that the old days and old ways had gone, never to return. With hand tools, their agricultural efforts were futile in comparison with those of the English with their oxen and plows. Their efforts could be expended with richer results as hunters and trappers, exchanging the products of the forest for those of the fields. Little argument was needed to convince them of the wisdom of exchanging the drudgeries of husbandmen for the joys of communal life.

Possibly, a contributing factor to the desire to gather the natives into one compact mass was, that the previous year they had grown restive and menacing. John Pynchon and John Winthrop conferred as to means of keeping them in hand. Winthrop wrote to Roger Williams: "I have heard from Mr. Pynchon that they would make peace if they knew how, but none of them durst go to treat about it".

It may have been thought that the prescribing of definite limits for the Indians and invoking the curfew law against them might act as a restraining influence.

For their fort and village site, together with their planting grounds south of the Agawam and a confirmation of the deed of 1636, they were given fifty fathams of wampum and a tract on the east side, on a bluff overlooking the river, and away from the town activities. On June 20, 1666, Nessahegan alias Squomseat and Kepaquomp alias Squinnamok, for themselves and on behalf of an old woman called Potucksisqu, executed a conveyance to the town which included all the native lands there, except a few bits of planting ground in the "swamp", which individual Indian owners refused to sell.

As further compensation, a palisaded fort after the native style was built for them by the English on this new site, within which the Indians ruled supreme.

The settlers became quite adept at this native style of fortification, which was both cheap and effective. Eventually the church was protected by such a stockade, the specifications calling for some seventeen rods of palisade of logs ten and a half feet long and ten to twelve inches in diameter.

Details are lacking as to the size of this enclosure for the Indians, but it is of record that Griffith Jones was paid £1 "for fence, viz, yt of ye Indian fort, 12 or 14 rods". Other workers probably contributed to it, as the area enclosed was undoubtedly far greater than these figures would indicate. If, in time, other John Pynchon account books are transcribed and indexed, similar items will probably be found.

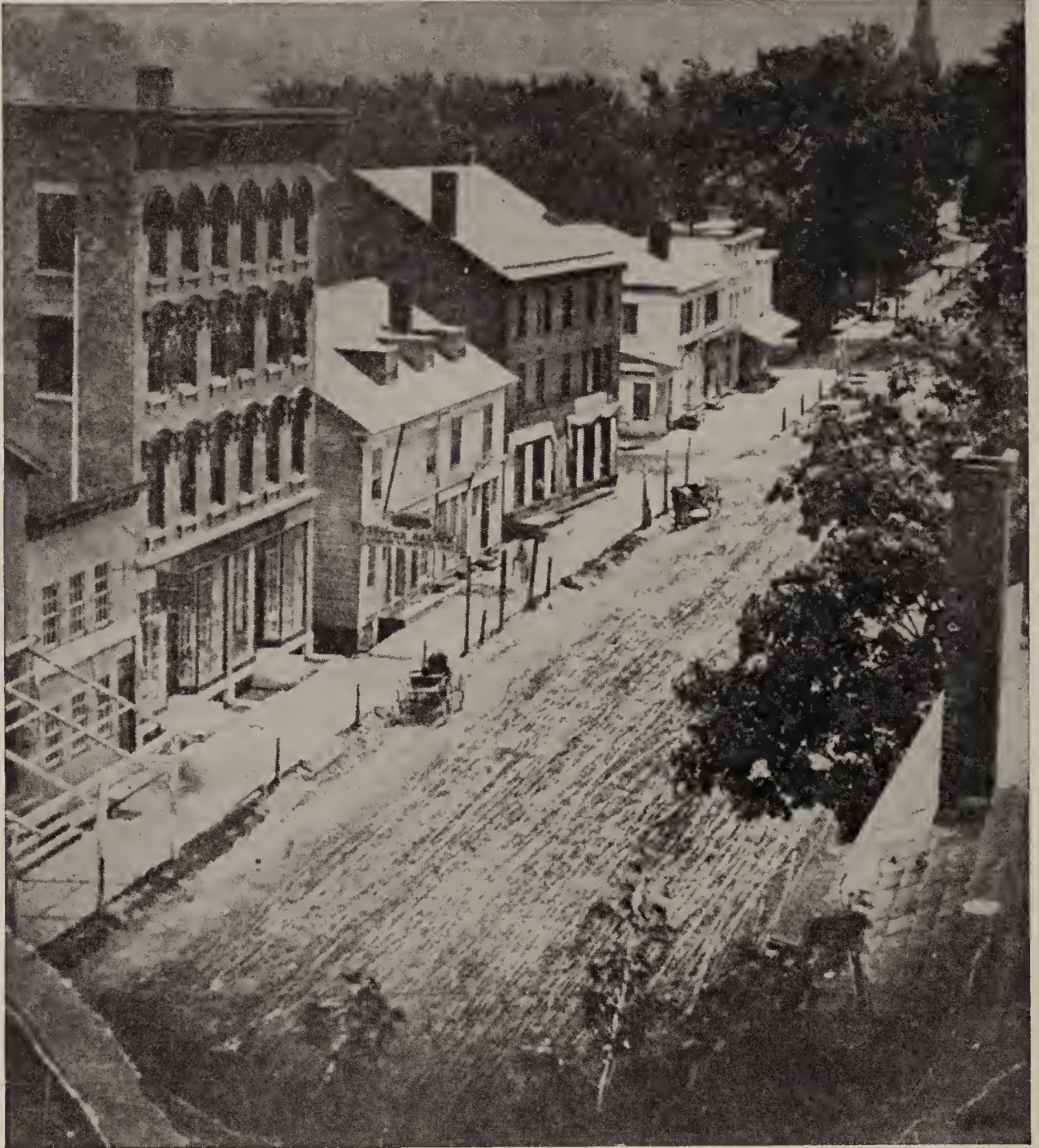
Thus did John Pynchon pioneer in establishing one of the first Indian reservations in America.

Here was the home of the Indians until, except for a few stragglers and trusties, they left the valley forever after their attempt to destroy the town on October 5, 1675. And this is the site which has been so appropriately marked by the Daughters of the American Revolution with a happily worded bronze tablet.

Confirmation of the traditional location of the fort is given in the record of the meeting of the selectmen on March 14, 1709-10, when "Nathaniel Sikes, Senr; Joseph Parsons; John Burt, Senr; and Benjamin Knowlton have liberty granted them of twelve years improvement of ten acres apiece up the Long Hill between the Old Fort and Long Dingle".

This raises the question of the identity of Long Hill and Long Dingle. Long Hill was so named as early as January 30, 1655-56, when a grant was made to Richard Sikes, "on ye further side of ye Mill river on ye east side of ye way yt goeth up the great hill, to run from ye Mill river and so to run back along by ye cart way yt goeth up ye Long Hill". In 1667, Benjamin Parsons was appointed overseer "for ye way up ye Long Hill over the Mill River", and this "way" in time became the present Long Hill street. From similar records, Long Dingle is readily identified as the most northerly of the deep valleys of Forest Park.

Thus it becomes evident that that which in 1710 was known as "the old fort" was on what is now known as Long Hill and somewhere far enough north of Forest Park, so that there was at least



Main Street, South From Hampden, Springfield, 1861

forty acres of level ground between it and the slope down into Forest Park, which forty acres could have been only in the vicinity of Washington Boulevard and Long Hill Street.

When the Indians decamped, title to their lands reverted to the town and was held as common property for nearly forty years. At a proprietor's meeting, February 10, 1713-14, it was "voted that the

Fort Hill as so-called be laid out in home lots, ten acres to a lot and a town road laid out to Pecowsuck Hill or Bridge". On March 22, 1713-14, Samuel Hitchcock was granted one of these lots, "ten acres at southerly end of the Town Plott in Springfield and situate on Fort Hill". Hitchcock sold this to Samuel Warner, October 28, 1718. Also on March 22, 1713-14, the ten acre lot next north of the Hitchcock lot was granted to Joseph Cooley, "lying on Fort Hill commonly so called". This lot was sold to Simon Smith, May 5, 1721, and the records show the transfers down to the present-day owner on Long Hill Street.

The committee "appointed to lay out the Fort Hill in lots, together with a road or street", reported on May 19, 1719, that they had "laid out a street or highway of six rods wide from the upper end of Fort Hill, down or running southerly to Pecowsick".

The elder men who were steering the ship of state in 1710 to 1719, when these reports were made, were at least mature lads when the town was burned in 1675. They must have known where "the old fort" was, thirty-five to forty-five years before. They described it as being at the lower end of the town, up the long hill, the plateau of which was known as Fort Hill and north of Pecousic Brook, with a sizeable area between it and the slope down to Long Dingle.

Dr. Philip Kilroy, who built the present home of the Vincentian Fathers, bought the lot in 1894 from Joseph W. Storrs. At that time there was nailed to a tree by the roadside an old signboard, worn and weather beaten, with a hand pointing to the property, designating it as Fort Pleasant.

This signboard had been put up by Chester Osborn, who sold the plot to Storrs in 1867, his deed describing it as "on Long Hill, known as the Fort Pleasant estate". Osborn bought it from Joseph Lombard, October 16, 1841, and during that interim he took great interest in its history. He was instrumental in the laying out of Fort Pleasant Avenue in 1871 and the naming of it. The deed from Lombard to Osborn describes the tract as "on Long Hill, the lot being called the Fort Hill Lot".

In Lombard's deed from Thomas Dwight in 1797, the description is, "commonly known by the name of Fort Lot on the county road on Long Hill".

So much for documentary evidence.

In the spring of 1895 the announcement that Dr. Kilroy was about to build on the property aroused considerable interest, and an appeal was made for an opportunity to examine relics previously taken from the lot. A study of these revealed that almost invariably they were of the crudest sort. While this was not so true of the smaller implements and utensils, yet it was markedly so of the larger ones. Pestles were hardly more than water-worn natural stones. Mortars, pots and bowls were seldom found complete, and usually were but mere fragments. They indicated almost a contempt on the part of the owners, who for at least three decades had been able to acquire the superior wares of the English.

Their very crudeness suggested that they might have been made by a later generation; one which from lack of experience, due to long use of European utensils, had lost the knack and skill of their fathers. Possibly they were made by those of a later generation, who, being the least fit were least able to acquire the products of the chase which the settlers demanded in exchange and so, by stern necessity, were forced to exercise their meager talents in attempts at fashioning these poor imitations of the clever handiwork of their ancestors.

Actual work on the site began the first week in April, 1895, and the operations incidental to excavating and grading, together with the interest and cooperation of the owner offered unusual opportunities for exploration. It happened to be the year when the American Association for the Advancement of Science met in Springfield, and the city was host to well-known ethnologists and archeologists. Prof. F. W. Putnam of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, and Frank Hamilton Cushing of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington, spent considerable time in going over the ground.

Both of these scientists were frankly puzzled at some phases of the conditions disclosed by the excavations. It was not so much that they found a deviation from the type of villages that they had previously explored, as that they sensed some peculiarity. The late Dr. Jacob T. Bowne of Springfield continued their investigations and had a similar feeling. He suggested that it might be due to the fact that the whole affair was possibly some sort of a ceremonial village.

It was not until years later, and after all three were dead, that persistent delving amongst the records brought to light the documents which showed why it varied from the prehistoric villages familiar to them. Being English planned and English built, it included modifications from the native type, acceptable, however, to the Indians who realized the superior methods of the settlers and their own lack of need for the ways and means of their ancestors.

The top soil was first removed, with its accumulation of leaf mold and debris. This disclosed the location of the stockade, each ten to twelve inch post being plainly shown by the discoloration of the soil.

In form, the stockade was nearly a half oval, with its two sides and point approximating the brow of the hill, but set back quite a bit from the edge of the bank. The location of the eastern wall was never determined. For some time prior to its acquisition by Dr. Kilroy, the property had been leased to Isaac P. Dickinson of Long Hill for a market garden. Deep plowing, compost making and other incidentals of the industry, had at some points so changed the character of the soil as to make any search utterly futile. It was obvious, however, that it was at about the point where was the shortest distance between the ravines at either side.

Within the line of the enclosure, twenty-six fire holes were found, indicating the location of the individual houses, which would suggest a probable population of a couple of hundred Indians, with possibly forty to fifty warriors. These fire holes, from one to nearly three feet in diameter and of various depths, were packed solid with wood ashes, mixed with bones of sheep, hogs and deer. Also in the ashes

and about the ground, were numerous pieces of long stemmed clay pipes; the seventeenth century "fairy pipes" each having on its diminutive bowl, the initials of known Dutch pipemakers of that era.

Even the trail to the spring and on to the river was found, and where the trail met the river the native fish sinkers were recovered from the mud in the shallow water. Part way down the hill the trail bowed off to the north for several feet, and then resumed its original course. Digging at this point the explorers found the remains of an immense chestnut tree, which in its prime was too huge to be removed and which had to be circled around.

The finding of this trail on ground that had been pastured for two hundred years was the work of Frank Hamilton Cushing. Lying on his side, with cheek to the ground, just as the sun was setting and giving the desired slanting light, he noted the line of the trail by the variance in the hue of the grass. Where the ground had been trodden hard by hundreds of feet in those old days, the grass differed from the vegetation bordering it. Directing the work of an assistant, stakes were driven along the line which the uncanny eye noted, until the entire way was marked.

Though the building of the house was continued through 1895, the grading was deferred, and all that summer minute search was made for facts and artifacts. It was hoped also that there would be discovered the burial place usually found in connection with a permanent settlement, but it was more than a year before that goal was reached.

Quite early it seemed that success was at hand, for on September 24, 1895, two skeletons were found on a knoll north of Pecousie Villa. The skull of one of these was fractured at the crown by a blow from some heavy instrument. There was another long cut evidently made with a heavy, sharp blade. The right ankle showed a deep cut an inch and a half long. On the outside of the left thigh bone was another deep cut and just below the upper joint the thigh bone was pierced by a bullet. The second skeleton did not show as many traces of violence, but the left side of the skull was crushed by a heavy blow.

Investigation by Dr. Thomas Dwight of Harvard University Medical School showed that they were not Indians. The bodies had been buried five feet deep and lying at length. Also there was evidence that they had been buried in coffins as several hard pine knots had outlasted the boards of which they had been a part. At the four corners of a rectangle surrounding them, were wrought iron nails that had held the boards together.

The mystery was solved by an aged resident of the vicinity who recalled the story of her grandfather, Roderick Lombard, who had lived on Long Hill Street in a house destroyed by fire only shortly before. He was a Tory in sympathies and after the Battle of Bennington, harbored two Hessians who were wounded there and brought to his house. He kept them secretly and when they died, buried them in his wheat field.

There is a suggestion of romance in this, perhaps the story of two peasants of Hesse-Cassel; brothers possibly, conscripted by their

ruling prince to serve an English king in the New World, and there to leave their bones in an American museum.

The autumn of 1896 was very mild and winter came late, affording unusual opportunities for exploration. On December 16, 1896, the native cemetery was finally located, completing one of the most interesting aboriginal finds ever made in New England. Across the second ravine to the south, and close by the road, thirteen complete skeletons were taken out and indications found of a few others. The burials had all been made in the aboriginal manner with limbs flexed.



Roderick Lombard House, East Side of Long Hill Street, Springfield

The discovery was more or less accidental and in connection with realty operations, though a close watch had been kept on all work being done in the vicinity. Workmen leveling the bank which stood some five feet above the roadway first came upon the bodies and work was suspended to allow of proper exploration.

As the bank was sliced away the skeletons were found embedded in the sand, like raisins in the cutting of a cake. Each lay with its head to the southeast; right hand under the cheek; the left across the breast and the knees drawn up under the chin. About the bodies, about eighteen inches under the surface, was a continuous line of charcoal left from the old fires. As the workmen cut away from south to north, the bones were found to be older and more frail until it was possible to see in the soil only the discoloration caused by the mold of the crumbled skeleton. The charcoal, quite firm at first, grew gradually more soft until there was but a line of black beneath the surface mold.

Of these skeletons, nearly twenty-five percent of the skulls had an extra suture at the base of the back. This is a feature seldom found

in white men, though often in monkeys and suggests a low order of intelligence.

The small number of bodies found was interesting, as confirming the evidence that the village was occupied but a short time, but of even greater interest was the absolute lack of "Indian relics", which it was anticipated would be found with the bodies.

It was customary for the New England Indians to bury with their dead such articles as would be most useful to them in the world beyond. Their most cherished possessions and choicest tools were placed within reaching distance of their lifeless hands.

But these semi-civilized Indians had outlived the primitive stage where a stone knife or arrow point was a prized object. The steel knives of the English made better tools and weapons. Woolen blankets gave greater comfort than harsh skins. But all these were such as "moth and rust doth corrupt", and in the long years they had totally disintegrated, leaving not a trace.

Though there were European made spoons and buckles, there was not an arrowhead nor stone implement nor tool. The sole and single primitive object taken from the graves was a bit of pottery, a native cup, which is now in Peabody Museum at Harvard University. It was of unusual ethnologic value; the last link in the chain of evidence, for it was wholly unlike the pottery usually found in graves.

While made in the native manner, of clay and pounded shells, in shape it bore little resemblance to native pottery, but was fashioned in close imitation of an English child's drinking cup, complete with handle, and could by no stretch of imagination be construed as of the prehistoric period. And it was such a perfect copy that it may safely be assumed that it was no first attempt of the native potter, but was made after long acquaintance and close familiarity with the settlers and their utensils.

Such is the story of the brief life of the Indians on Long Hill; barely ten years in all. Their coming had little of romance in it; their going hardly more.

A sordid, squalid little band, scarcely better than the beasts of the forest. Almost obliterated by the great plagues which scourged them early in the seventeenth century, when probably only the strongest survived, as their ranks were still further decimated by civilization's evils, they sensed the fate that was enveloping them and after their ill-advised attempt to exterminate the colony they took to the woods and passed out of the picture forever.

Just forty years, lasted their dream of ease and luxury under white protection.

This conning of the old records shows that originally the name Long Hill was applied to the northern slope only; "the cart way up the long hill to the wood lots". As applied to the hill itself it is a misnomer, as it is not of a shape to make such a name applicable. To the plateau itself, that is, perhaps, from Warner Avenue to Forest Park, the early settlers gave the name of Fort Hill.

That name should be restored and preserved.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Second Meeting House

THE little meeting house of 1645 gave satisfaction for nearly thirty years, but at a town meeting in 1674, "there being through the favor of God, so great an increase of inhabitants, consideration was had concerning want of room in the meeting house for convenient seating of people," and it was decided that the problem should be solved by the building of a new church.

However, before anything was accomplished, King Philip's War broke out, and the major part of Springfield was destroyed by the Indians.

King Philip was killed in August, 1676. The Indians quickly faded out of the picture and life became fairly normal. The reaction at Springfield was very prompt, for less than two weeks after Philip's death, the question of a new church was again brought up. Though the little church of 1645 had survived the disaster, it was most inadequate and it was ordered that the town committee for meeting house affairs should "treat with John Allis of Hartford, in regard to the town's poverty by reason of the war. If he will stay for his pay, then to get him to raise the meeting house as soon as may be." To this, John Allis agreed.

The building was designed to be fifty feet by forty feet, or exactly double the size of its predecessor. It was to be underpinned with stone, two and a half feet above ground and high enough so that galleries might be installed when required.

John Allis cut and squared the heavy timbers and built the skeleton or frame, for which he received £140 in three installments. Nathaniel Pritchard was paid two shillings for showing Allis where the timber was to be had and we may be confident that it was west of the Connecticut, for £6 was paid "for getting the timber over the river." There were a dozen iron casement windows for which John Gilbert fashioned the diamond-paned leaded glass. Besides the usual wage and two quarts of drink he received three shillings extra for one sheet of glass broken by romping dogs. These windows were a constant problem and the selectmen were forced to "consider the great damage done to the glass windows by children playing about the meeting house."

Four shillings were paid for "brass for the weather vane," which takes the story back to the old country.

John Stewart, a Scottish royalist was taken by Cromwell's troops at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, and deported to Massachusetts for a period of servitude. His time was bought by John Pynchon who brought him to Springfield, and here he spent his life as a skilled metal worker. Eventually he redeemed himself and lived as an honored citizen of the town. For the making of the vane he named a price of two pounds and six shillings more than the committee was willing to pay, and reluctantly the project was dropped. However, Stewart could do naught else. His home and his shop at Pynchon and Main streets had been utterly destroyed by the Indians. He was an old man, infirm from battle wounds. For his own rehabilitation he was dependent on the fruits of his labor.

In the crisis, help came from an unexpected source, as a group of young men gave their aid. Figuratively, they passed the hat and contributed the required excess sum. The record of the transaction reads,—“Due to Goodman Stewart on the vane, one pound, eight shillings besides the two pounds, six shillings paid by the young men.”

There is something rather fine about this. These lads had just passed through a bath of fire and blood. They had rebuilt their homes and their barns. They had done their part in the reconstruction of the saw mill, the corn mill and the parsonage. Yet in this time of need they were not found wanting.

Five rods of five-rail fence were erected on three sides of the building and Miles Morgan planted a thick hedge at the rear. Thomas Stebbins paid five pounds for the earlier meeting house, which then became a mere barn. With all charges paid, the committee reported that the complete cost of the building was four hundred pounds.

The new church was off to seventy years of good work.

At a Town Meeting held February 5, 1677-78, it was “concluded that something be done for the fortification of the new meeting house” and it was decided that this should be done by erecting a palisade of logs ten and one-half feet long, with a diameter of ten to twelve inches. A committee being appointed “to proportion out men's parts”, seventeen individuals provided “stuff” for a total of nineteen rods of palisade, six others gave twenty-seven shillings and nine provided eleven days of labor.

A year later the newly built parsonage was “fortified as the new meeting house is fortified”, the cost being added to the tax rate of the year.

In 1864 this parsonage was moved to the south side of Hillman Street, and an item in the *Springfield Republican* on September first of that year mentions a West Indian pistareen coin that rolled out of a crack of the building during the operation.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Blast Furnace

IN THE autumn of 1635 the grist-mill was in operation by the Mill River, approximately where the Bemis & Call Company was later located. In 1667 John Pynchon established a saw-mill on the same river, upstream from the grist-mill, and in 1703 Joseph Cooley set up a fulling-mill above the saw-mill. John Warner, who at one time operated the grist-mill for Pynchon, eventually became the owner of it, and in 1709 he re-established it at a point above the Cooley fulling-mill. Much more pretentious and far reaching was the blast furnace and iron foundry erected on the stream in 1697, using iron ore from the south side of the Chicopee River, just east of the present dam at Chicopee Falls. The success of this furnace and its continuous operation over the years, was one of the determining factors which led to the locating at Springfield, of the Continental Armory by Washington and Knox in 1777.

It is a far cry from the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, but that is where it all started, for when the Parliamentary army under Cromwell totally defeated the Scottish royalists under Leslie, large numbers of the captured Scots were deported to America as indentured servants, and to Springfield came John Stewart, a skilled ironworker, bound out to serve John Pynchon for eight years as reimbursement of money paid for his passage. As Stevenson said, "he bore a king's name" and was of an honored calling, and he became a person of importance in the community.

In Anglo-Saxon times, the smith was treated as an officer of the highest rank and his person was protected by a double penalty. At the close of the fourteenth century, the smith had entered upon the brilliant career which contributed so much to the industrial pre-eminence of England. Ironwork of that period was most elaborate. The locks and keys, the hinges and bolts, the smith's work in gates and screens, exceeded in beauty anything of the kind which has since been produced.

For some years, Springfield's need for a smith had been most urgent and at a town meeting, January 8, 1645-46, "George Colton and Miles Morgan were appointed to do their best to get a smith for the town". In anticipation of their success, in September of that year, the town contracted with Francis Ball "to build a shop for a

smith, 12 by 16 feet, with a forge and chimney, and a door and windows in the end'', for which he was to be paid £5. It was agreed that the shop should remain town property until it seemed desirable to dispose of it.

The Scottish prisoners began to arrive in Boston in 1651, and in November, the ship *John and Sarah* cleared from London with two hundred seventy-two, who were consigned to Thomas Kemble of Charlestown. John Cotton wrote from Boston to Cromwell, July 5, 1651:

“The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbar, we have been desirous as we could to make their yoke easy. They have not been sold for slaves, but for six or eight years, and he that bought most of them, buildeth houses for them for their own, requiring three days in the week to work for him by turns and four days for themselves and promises as soon as they can repay him for the money he laid out for them, he will set them at liberty”.

These were the workers who were sent to Lynn, and made the Saugus Iron Works so successful.

John Stewart's period of servitude was short, for in 1653 he had repaid Pyncheon nearly all the £30 due him and received his freedom, agreeing to pay off the balance of thirty-six shillings by doing twelve shillings worth of smithery work each year for three years. For a time he was a member of Pyncheon's household, but in 1659 Pyncheon bought the lot on Main Street, where the Capitol Theater now is, which had been granted to Thomas Reeves. The rear part he sold to Deacon Samuel Chapin, and the balance, with a street frontage of eight rods and extending westerly for twelve rods, including the house and orchard, he sold to Stewart for £10. At the same time, by vote of the town, “the smith's shop was given to John Stewart as his own forever”. This house was burned by the Indians on October 5, 1675, but it was at once rebuilt and was probably not unlike the houses built for the Saugus workers, which have been restored by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

There, the soldier, who, in his own words “was in service in five battles under the noble Marquis of Montrose, for his majesty, King Charles the first and thereby suffered and received many dangerous wounds, having escaped with his life through mercy”, passed his life. There he brought his bride, Sarah, daughter of John Stiles of Windsor, and there he died childless, April 21, 1690, after transmitting his skill to his foster son, Obadiah Miller, who was his worthy successor well into the following century.

There he made the town branding-irons, the hooks and eyes for the common gates, and repaired the leaded-glass windows of the church. Hinges, locks, chains, nails, andirons, candlesticks and other household utensils were the work of the clever artisan. He mended guns, ringed the swine and built farm implements. Even the tools of the carpenters were his product. His services were a necessity to every family in town.

The shop was outfitted by Pynchon, who charged Stewart rental for the use of the equipment which would compare favorably with any modern country blacksmith's. On June 24, 1656, "a note of my tools at the smith which John Stewart hath", included a great vise, a hand vise, a great anvil, two hammers, a great hand hammer, a less hand hammer, a chest with good lock and key, three pairs of tongs, a nail tool, a chisel, seven punches, a beck iron, a paring iron, a bolster, a square bolster, a screw plate with three pins, a steel drill or wimble, a round pin, eight horseshoes, a share, an old springlock, a broad



Bridle Path of Ingersoll Grove in 1886, Now Ingersoll Grove Street, Springfield

hoe without eye, a tool to unbreech guns, a tool for making axe eyes, and last, but not least, a tool for making Indian hatchets.

From this it would appear that even the astute John Pynchon contributed his share to the sowing of the wind which later was to be reaped with such dire results. The furnishing to the Indians of deadly steel counterparts of their own clumsy stone hatchets had even less excuse than the furnishing of guns, which at least helped them to gain a living.

As the population increased Stewart's work required iron in increasing quantities, which year by year grew more scarce and costly. The furnaces of England were operated entirely with charcoal and the necessary quantity of wood was enormous, a ton of finished iron requiring from two hundred to four hundred bushels of charcoal for its production. About the middle of the seventeenth century the British iron industry experienced a serious check through the civil commotion which then prevailed. Many of the furnaces in Sussex

and Kent were destroyed and never rebuilt. Soon after the Restoration all the ironworks in the Forest of Dean were destroyed, owing to the scarcity of timber. There was a growing dearth of wood for the furnaces and forges. The forests of England, in the iron-making districts, had been largely consumed and there were loud complaints that the whole community would be unable to obtain fuel for domestic purposes if the denudation were persisted in. Acts were passed which prohibited the cutting of timber in certain parts of the country for conversion into fuel for the making of iron. A later act prohibited the erection of any new ironworks in Surrey, Kent and Sussex. In 1620, said Dudley, "many iron works decayed for want of wood though formerly a mighty woodland country". Owing to inability to obtain fuel, many of the ironworks were laid down in 1676 and England's supply of iron was largely imported from Sweden, Flanders and Spain.

In this extremity the colonies made every effort to supply their own needs. As early as 1643 iron was produced at Saugus from native ore, and by 1652 another plant was in operation at Braintree. At that time, those hardly supplied local needs, but production increased so rapidly that, in 1737, it was proposed in the British Parliament, to get all pig iron from the American colonies.

Encouraged by these successes the Springfield settlers early began a search for iron. Though they seem never have been misled by the seventeenth century lust for gold, yet they certainly most aggressively and persistently hunted for iron. Even the dangers of King Philip's War did not deter them, and the Rev. Edward Taylor of Westfield noted in his diary in 1675: "Our soil was moistened with the blood of three Springfield men,—two sons of Goodman Brooks, who came here to look after iron ore on the land he had lately bought of Mr. John Pyncheon, but fell in the way by the first assault of the enemy upon us".

Hunters and trappers prospected through the surrounding wilderness and such encouraging indications were found to the northward, that John Pyncheon formed a partnership with William Avery of Deerfield and Hezekiah Usher, a noted searcher for minerals, of Boston and Lynn; and in June, 1685, they petitioned the General Court, requesting that as they had "been at much pains and costs in searching for metals and having found a hill near a Miller's River, in which are stones encouraging as by some small trials appear and being willing to be at further cost to improve it, to grant them 1,000 acres of land near to that place".

The land was granted as requested but the prospect proved only another disappointment. Finally, after searching far afield, the precious metal was found at their very door. At the present Canterbury Avenue in Chicopee Falls were quantities of limonite. A contemporary said,—"This bog or swamp ore lies half-a-foot to two feet deep. In about twenty years from its digging, it grows fit for another digging. Three tons of swamp ore yield about one ton of iron. One

hundred and twenty bushels of charcoal are sufficient to smelt rock ore into one ton of pigs”.

This of course was a low-grade ore, being about eighty-five percent high grade hematite with fifteen percent water, but the fact that the deposit continually renewed itself, made it an inexhaustible supply of great value. With modern equipment it would probably yield sixty percent of finished product, but with the crude process of the day, it is doubtful if it yielded half that.

News of the find spread quickly and, as a result, on April 3, 1693, the selectmen were instructed to “send to the man that we hear would set up iron works in our town and inform him that the town is willing to encourage him all that they can in that affair and give him any liberty as to improvement of iron ore in their commons as shall be rational and that the town would be glad if he would come and give us a visit”.

This was John Mighill, one of a family of experienced iron-makers who had been instrumental in the formation of similar enterprises in the eastern part of the state. To the selectmen, with but a meager knowledge of the requirements of the business, his requests for grants of woodland sufficient to properly operate a plant seemed so outrageous that the conference came to naught. On February 5, 1694-95, “John Dorchester, with his partners, being desirous to set up iron works in this town, moved to have liberty of the stream of Skipmuck River and forty or fifty acres of land where it may be most convenient to set up said works and the free use of any ore in the commons and liberty of wood for coals for the said design, their desire was granted provided that they set about the work to some good effect within twelve months”. That project lapsed by default, but at a town meeting December 5, 1696, John Pyncheon and Joseph Parsons “made some proposals in order to the setting up and carrying on an iron mill for the producing of iron and the town considering the great benefit it will be to this place, have granted them free liberty for the taking and improving all and whatever iron ore may be found anywhere within our township, also the free use of wood for coal anywhere in our commons provided it be not within three miles and a half of the town”.

That arrangement not being satisfactory, the following January, Pyncheon and Parsons, “for the better accommodation of an iron mill design, did desire the town to grant them one hundred acres of land, also twenty acres near the place where the iron works shall stand, for pasturing and other necessary occasions”. There was immediate objection made to this last proposal. The older settlers, who for years had submitted to the dictatorship of the Pynchons, father and son, had passed on and the voice of a second generation was being heard in the councils. For sixty years a monopoly had been had by them in the town grist and saw-mill, and owing to poorly constructed dams and very inadequate equipment, the service was far from satisfactory to the growing town. However, at the town meeting of March 9, 1696-97, they had “free liberty granted them to

set up an iron work or mill, upon the Mill River below the place where the corn mill is now standing", but the grant was subject to four conditions.

First, that they would "not damnify the way for passing over Mill River". Second, that Pynchon would maintain an adequate grist-mill as long as he kept possession of the saw-mill grant. Third, that he would agree to certain specified charges for the grinding of grain. Fourth, that "when the design of the iron work is wholly laid aside and ceaseth, then the stream to be under the same circumstance it was before this grant".

Thus the stage was set for the building of the plant, which Pynchon arranged for in characteristic manner. He never hesitated to take the helm in any enterprise, however lacking he might be in a knowledge of the requisite details. He never relied on his own ability, but worked on a system of which modern industrialists have taken advantage, for he always commanded the services of an expert in the line he was for the moment engaged in. The building of the plant was left to Joseph Parsons. After the installation of the dam and water-wheel, the next problem was to find a source of supply of stone that would bear powerful and long-continued heat. A good firestone requires a union of qualities that is not too common. To answer well for a furnace, a rock must not only be infusible, but not liable to crack. Hence, the presence of lime or magnesia, except as silicates, is unfavorable and although pure quartz resists fusion well, it is liable to crack. On the other hand, some stones contain so much of potasia that they are converted into glass. After a trial, the red sandstone of Sixteen Acres proved admirable for the purpose, and a good foundation stone was found at Small Brook. Various team owners were glad to cart these in to the mill site for two shillings a load. Bricks for the stacks and outer covering of the furnace were made at the brick kiln where the Armory grounds slope to Pearl Street. The furnace was about twenty-four feet in diameter on the outside and nearly thirty feet in height. The interior was egg shaped, small at the top and bottom, and eight or ten feet wide at the widest part. Behind the furnace was a pair of bellows twenty-two feet long made of two-inch oak plank. These were compressed by knobs on the axle of the water-wheel, being raised again by counter weights, as soon as the knobs slid by and worked alternately, one giving the blast while the other was rising.

In the spring of 1698 the plant was ready to operate and John Mighill was engaged to instruct the workers. Pynchon paid him for "eight days or eight days and half with Mr. Parsons at my iron mill", and evidently during that period all necessary information was extracted from him; as that is the last time his name appears on the ironworks accounts. One important thing they learned from him was that in the absence of lime for a flux, the Long Hill clay banks provided a good substitute.

The manufacturing process as described at the time was as follows,—

“The first work is to calcine the ore, which is done in a kiln much after the fashion of our ordinary lime kilns. This they fill to the top with coal and ore which they let burn until the coal is consumed, when they renew the kiln with fresh ore and coal. This serves to consume the more drossy part of the ore and makes it friable. Thence they carry it to the furnace, which is filled with ore and cinder intermixed with charcoal, laying it loosely at the bottom so that it may more easily take fire. After it is once burning, the



State Street, Willow to Main, Springfield, 1830

materials run together, in a hard cake or lump, which is sustained by the furnace and through this the metal runs as it trickles down the receivers, which are at the bottom, where there is a passage open by which they take away the scum and dross and let out their metal, as they see occasion. Before the mouth of the furnace is a great bed of sand, where they make furrows of the fashion they desire to cast their iron. Into these, when the receivers are full, they let in their metal. After the furnace is once at work, they keep it constantly employed, never suffering the fire to slacken, night or day, supplying the waste of fuel and other materials, with fresh, poured in at the top. From the furnace, they bring the sows and pigs of iron, as they call them, to the forges, which are two sorts, though they stand together under the same roof. One they call the finery and the other the chafery”.

Here, with repeated heatings, the mass was worked under the tilt-hammers, which were also operated by the water-wheel. John Houghton, in 1697, called the square first made, a half bloom. This was reduced in size at the center, leaving a bar with two knobs, which he called a bloom, the greater end being called the mocket head and the smaller the ancony end. At the third heat,—there being three heats in all,—the ancony end was reduced to a bar, and at the fourth and fifth heats, the mocket head was also reduced. Thus the ore was brought to a merchantable condition for the use of the smith.

“For several other purposes they have sort of cast iron which they take out of the receivers of the furnace as soon as it is melted, in great ladles and pour it into moulds of fine sand”. By this process were made pots, kettles, andirons, clock-weights, cogwheels, for mill machinery and similar articles.

“Every six days at the furnace they call a foundry in which space they make eight ton of iron. They expect that one man and a boy at the finery should make up two tons of iron in a week. Two men at the chafery should work up five or six tons in a week”. The complement of men for the furnace was eight or nine, besides cutters of wood, coalers, carters and other common laborers. “Several attempts have been made to use sea-coal (which Pyncheon brought here in his own ships) in these works instead of charcoal, the former being had at an easy rate, the latter not without a great expense, but the workmen find by experience that a sea-coal fire will not penetrate the most fixed part of the ore, by which means they leave much of the metal behind them unmelted”.

Various neighbors furnished the required charcoal. On October 24, 1698, Samuel Ely contracted to deliver twenty loads of ninety-six bushels each, one-half by the middle of the following July and the balance by the middle of October, twelve shillings a load being the price, or £12 for the 1920 bushels, or about three cents a bushel. However, maximum wages for a laborer were then but two shillings a day, as against possibly \$10 at the present time, so that to arrive at a proper comparison, Ely's price should be multiplied by twenty, giving sixty cents a bushel in the value of the present dollar.

The quality of the product turned out at the plant was so excellent that when the present-day smith has a particular piece of work in hand he searches the scrap pile for a piece of the old seventeenth century iron. Modern processes excel those which they have replaced more in the uniformity and quantity of their production than in their quality. Mechanical skill has united with the subtle operations of the chemist to increase production and lessen costs, but to the old operators must be given the palm for quality.

In May, 1698, the selectmen tried to saddle onto the mill owners, the entire expense of repairing the highway, but met with a flat refusal. By November the road was in such a condition that it was imperative that something be done, so a compromise arrangement

was arrived at, the town paying one-half the cost and the mill owners the other half. From that time on the enterprise moved along in a modest way, doing its bit through the Revolutionary War and eventually becoming Trask's foundry. With the coming of the railroads, the furnace was given up, as it was cheaper to buy pig iron than to make it. Finally, it was moved to Water Street, now Columbus Avenue. Out of this grew the Agawam Foundry, the present Springfield Foundry, and allied with the Agawam Foundry was the Talcott Axle Works which furnished the inspiration that resulted in the formation of the Wason Car Works.

In 1708, inspired by Pyncheon's success, John Stewart's former protege Obadiah Miller, together with Luke Hitchcock, Jr., were "granted the use of Mill River between the town saw mill and Clark's meadow to set up some works to make iron and land convenient for managing the design". This also was in operation through the Revolution, and after the establishment of the National Armory in 1794 it became the forge of the lower watersheds. In time, the old tilt-hammers at the Watersheds plants were replaced by drop-hammers. There were trained the generation of drop-forgers who contributed so much to the early success of some of the prominent industries of the present Springfield.

In 1779 "the proprietors of the iron-works on Mill River were granted land and water privileges near by for a paper-mill", but as the needs of the army were deemed paramount, the grant was rescinded.

Colonel William Smith, who was commandant at the Continental Armory at Springfield during the Revolution and James Byers who had been engaged in the casting of cannon for the American Army, jointly secured a lease in 1786, of a parcel of land and the water rights at Chicopee Falls on condition that they erect ironworks on the premises. A blast furnace for the manufacture of iron hollowware was erected but it was not very extensively worked until it passed into the hands of Benjamin Belcher and others in 1801. Under various owners and in various forms this project was continued, finally becoming the Belcher & Taylor Agricultural Tool Company, which continued well into the present century, but which has now wholly ceased to be.

To one not familiar with the circumstances, tales of the quantity of high-grade iron produced from native ore in Western Massachusetts seem almost fantastic. So far-reaching were the results of the industry that the products became famous, not only in America, but throughout the world.

In 1732 a very prolific mine was opened at Ore Hill in Salisbury, Connecticut, and it was later found that a deposit of similar ore extended northerly across Massachusetts to southern Vermont, which was commonly known as Salisbury ore, from the town where it was first mined. The famous frigates, *Constitution* and *Constellation* and

the Fort at the Battery in New York City, were armed with cannon of Salisbury iron.

On December 13, 1750, Col. Ephraim Williams executed a lease for what was perhaps the earliest mining project in Berkshire County, which read in part,—

“Whereas, it is suspected that a valuable mine may be discovered upon a certain parcel of land now in controversy between the Indians belonging to Stockbridge and Colonel Ephraim Williams of said Stockbridge, therefore I, Ephraim Williams do lease and let out unto Thomas Dewey and Israel Ashley of Westfield and Timothy Woodbridge of Stockbridge, the use and improvement of one-half of said mine, so long as it be judged valuable, provided it be discovered within twelve months after the date hereof”.

Apparently no one prospered from the prospect, for some humorist of two centuries ago endorsed the document with the words,—“Captain Williams Lease,—a valuable mine now minus”.

Numerous mines were opened in Berkshire County and a number of furnaces erected. Prominent amongst these were the Berkshire Iron Company and the Pomeroy Iron Company at West Stockbridge; the Briggs Foundry at Lanesboro; Cheshire Furnace, Cheshire; the Lenox Iron Works; North Adams Iron Company; and the Richmond Iron Company at Richmond Furnace.

At one time during the Revolution, Assistant Quartermaster General Walter Pynchon was stationed at Great Barrington, where he gathered materials and supplies from wherever they could be found. On November 21, 1779, he wrote to his superior officer, Lt. Col. William Smith at the Continental Armory in Springfield, that he was forwarding “thirteen bundles of nail rods, thirty-one thousand ten penny nails and three thousand four penny nails”, all of which were made from Berkshire iron.

At the outset, wood was plentiful throughout the district so that charcoal was readily available, but when the local supply dwindled, it was brought in from Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, and later from Virginia and the Carolinas. The use of charcoal, plus the high quality of the ore, joined in making Salisbury iron a superior product. It was of especial value where the metal was subjected to impact from sharp blows, as in car wheels and cannon. During the Civil War, iron from Richmond was used in the making of Rodman guns, no other iron being acceptable for that smooth-bore gun, designed for use with extra heavy charges.

During World War I, some of these mines did their bit in bringing victory, and in World War II the Ore Hill plant was very early readied for the same purpose.

Increased production and the superior qualities of steel, the ease with which its composition can be controlled to a nicety never dreamed of before, together with its cheapness as developed between

1890 and 1910, offset the advantages that the Salisbury ore had because of its superior quality, and first destroyed the prestige of the iron industry and finally ousted it completely. The art of making steel of qualities to exactly meet a particular need, and of making it so cheaply that iron could not compete, completely changed the situation; the quality of the ore now being only of minor importance. Chemists and metallurgists can remove the small amount of undesirable elements that may exist in the ore, while desirable elements can be added to fit the product to a specified use.

CHAPTER XXX

The French and Indian Wars

IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS, the final decade of the seventeenth century was a period of storm and stress. With the elevation of William of Orange to the throne of England there came a conflict with France known to history as King William's War. Once more the dread of savage Indians filled the nights and such forebodings became very real when Brookfield was attacked in August, 1692. On June 6, 1693, Deerfield was attacked as well as in September, 1694, August, 1695, and again in 1695. In the summer of 1698 Hatfield was assaulted.

The authorities had learned nothing from the experiences of King Philip's War and persisted in drawing from isolated towns, the men needed for garrisoning the extreme frontier settlements. John Pynchon pleaded desperately for a change in policy, but his pleas reached only deaf ears. In 1697 the Treaty of Ryswick brought an end to hostilities but it proved to be no more than a temporary truce.

In the midst of the strife and turmoil, the Salem witchcraft mania broke out, nineteen persons being hanged in 1692 because of their reputed alliance with the devil, but the last recorded case of suspected witchcraft in Western Massachusetts was that of Mary Randall, who was virtually acquitted by the Springfield Court on September 29, 1691.

In the last year of the old century, on January 9, 1699, died Amy Wyllys Pynchon, aged seventy-four, wife of John Pynchon and mother of his four children. Fifty-four years they had lived together and now he was the sole remaining member of his generation. Of his four children, John Pynchon, Jr., alone remained, together with the latter's two sons, William and John Pynchon, third. This youngest John was the favorite grandson and for him, the elder procured the office of Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of Sessions at Springfield, and he was later chosen County Registrar. Now he was to live with his grandfather in the echoing Mansion House where these two lone men were attended by two negro slaves, a man and a maid. On February 18, 1702, young Pynchon married Bathshua Taylor, daughter of Rev. Edward Taylor, first minister of the church at Westfield, and in the Mansion House his

fourteen children were born. And there, the Springfield register records, "the Honourable Colonel John Pynchon, esquire, was sick and died in the seventy-seventh year of his age". It is fortunate that this record has been preserved, for in all the voluminous writings, it is the sole bit of evidence to indicate the year of Pynchon's birth.

The patriarch was honored with a funeral such as he would have considered his due. His devoted negro servant, Tom, bathed the body and reverently wrapped it in its shroud before it was encoffined.

A squad of troopers, such as he had so many times led against the savages, now led the cortege to the "burying place", west of the church and approximately where Elm Street now meets Columbus Avenue. There the troopers fired a volley over the grave.

The overseers of the estate paid Thomas Merrick £2. 9s, 6d "for drink at his funeral", besides which five gallons of rum and sixteen pounds of sugar were consumed. All this in addition to three-and-a-half pints of rum "in his sickness".

The inventory of the estate included some of the sumptuous trappings that John Pynchon had craved all his life. His collection of plate had grown to a point where it was valued at close to £50. There were six pewter dishes and a dozen plates bearing the coat-of-arms of his ancestors. He had owned a silver hilted rapier; a trooping scarf with gold lace; gloves with silver lace; ten yards of gold and silver lace; two knots of silver ribbon; and a light colored doublet with gold twist and sand-colored britches.

But the glory of the Pynchons was on the wane. In 1754 there died in Suffield, John Pynchon, one of those fourteen children born to the favorite grandson, John Pynchon, third. Three years before his death he had written to the church at Springfield, the following letter, the original of which is in the records of the Suffield Church,—

"Suffield, July 19th, 1751.

To the Reverend Mr. Robert Breck,—

It hath pleased God to lay his hand on me by a long sickness for about a year and am very much reduced and unable to get things necessary at the doctors nor pay for them and am advised to ride on a journey in order for the recovery of my health and not able to support myself on a journey because of my poor circumstances, therefore would beg the charity of your church and congregation for me. Please communicate it to the church the next sabbath and would beg their charity towards me the sabbath after.

I entreat your favor towards me.

I am your humble servant

JOHN PYNCHON"

With the accession of Queen Anne, hostilities between England and France again broke out, war being declared May 4, 1702. One of the first places in New England to suffer was Deerfield, a party

of French and Indians from Montreal, numbering two hundred fifty falling upon the sleeping town on February 29, 1704, killing sixty of the inhabitants and carrying off a hundred prisoners. In 1706 a number of persons in the valley were killed. On March 21, 1713, the Peace of Utrecht concluded the war.

During the years 1722-1725, while France and England were at peace, war broke out with the Abenaki Indians of Maine. Early in the year 1724 Fort Dummer was built, at what is now Brattleboro, Vermont. A treaty of peace was concluded December 15, 1725, and hostilities ceased with little damage done in Western Massachusetts.



(Photo by Harry Andrew Wright, 1890)

Home of Ariel Cooley at Skipmuck

On March 20, 1744, war once more broke out between England and France, and Massachusetts resolved to erect a chain of forts to protect her northwestern frontier. Accordingly a fort was built at East Hoosac, now Adams, and named Fort Massachusetts; one in the present town of Heath, called Fort Shirley; another in Rowe, which was named Fort Pelham; and a small fort at Blandford. On August 26, 1746, Fort Massachusetts was invested by a French and Indian force numbering eight or nine hundred. The twenty-two defenders of the little stronghold fought valiantly for twenty-eight hours when they were forced to surrender. At the same time a sortie was again made against Deerfield, where three were killed and one was taken prisoner. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed October 7, 1748, put an end to the war.

By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Springfield had spread out in all directions, settled communities being established in

West Springfield, Agawam, Longmeadow, Wilbraham, Skipmuck and Chicopee, including Upper Chicopee, as the section north of the river was known. Hence, many were so far from the church that the Sabbath journey was an irksome task, often attended by actual danger to life and health for both man and beast. As a partial relief from such conditions, at a town meeting held in 1728, ten of the younger men from one of the outlying districts were given leave for "setting up a house for their horses at the south-west end of the meeting house in the town plat". Two weeks later seven of Upper Chicopee were granted like permission. Later that same year, five young men were given leave "to build a horse house in the lane at the foot of the hill at the meeting house, by Major Pynchon's lot". Thus the trials of the dumb beasts were in part alleviated, but the lot of the humans was little bettered.

In 1698 West Springfield had organized a separate church, and Longmeadow in 1716. Wilbraham ordained its own minister in 1741. Upper Chicopee, however, had no relief from the long trek, though informal discussions and protests grew general. Various petitions for the establishment of Chicopee as a separate parish were most vigorously refused, the mother church fearing the results of the financial loss that would accrue by the secession of so great a number of parishioners.

In 1747 agitation for a new meeting house at Springfield became so insistent that at a parish meeting it was "voted to build a timber meeting house fifty-six by forty-five feet". Intentional hindrances, by a group of irresponsibles acting on behalf of the Chicopee irrecconcilables, caused a complete stoppage of work on the project for ten months, and in November, 1748, those obstructionists packed the meeting and so engineered the procedure at a parish meeting that it was "voted to build a brick meeting house sixty feet by forty-six feet". Such tactics were of course merely to gain time, in an effort to force a compromise that would result in the building of two churches, one in the town plat and the other at Chicopee. The parish later "voted that the controversy between those desiring a brick meeting house and those desiring a wood one should be settled by a majority of the assessed valuation of the parish and a wood meeting house was decided upon".

This took the affair back to the beginning, and in 1749 it was "voted to build a meeting house with timber, sixty feet in length and forty feet in breadth, with a steeple as far up as the square or platform, exclusive of the banisters and spire". Later, it was further voted "to erect a spire with bell and weather-cock on top of the steeple and a porch over the east door".

This, of course, was the cock that still presides over the church spire. The bell was the one that warned the Minutemen, when Israel Bissell, the express rider, galloped into Springfield in the small hours of the night on April 20, 1775, with the news of the Battle of Lexington.

This third building was the first Springfield church to have "sash casements with square glass".

In December, 1753, the building committee submitted its final account, showing the complete cost to have been £8,544, or twenty-one times the cost of the previous building.

The first Meeting House stood at the southeast corner of the present Court Square, which was then the corner of the Town Street and the way to the Burying Place, by the River. This Way was later known as Meeting House Lane and is now Elm Street. A bit to the west of that first building and on the "hill" was the Church of 1677. In April, 1674, it was ordered that the new church, then contemplated, should be "in Thomas Stebbins' home lot, on the hill by his pasture". This "hill" was a section of the hill extending parallel with Main Street, from Round Hill to York Street. The present Court House stands on a vestige of it. It is impossible to determine its height, but it must have been quite noticeable.

In 1749, in preparation for the third meeting house, it was voted to "tear down the meeting house", and it was ordered that "digging be done, leveling the hill where the old house stands, in such manner as shall be proper for a suitable setting of the new meeting house in that place". This third building stood east of the present Church. Provision for a "porch over the east door", indicates that this was the main entrance.

When it became apparent that the building of a new church was inevitable, a petition was submitted by the Chicopee people asking leave to withdraw and form a church of their own, only to have it rejected. But the people were in earnest. In 1750 a plea was sent to the General Court, "showing that the greater part of them dwelt from four to eight miles from the place of public worship and now that their numbers had greatly increased, they esteemed themselves able to build a house for public worship and give sufficient encouragement to a minister of the gospel", and asking that they be set off as petitioned. This document was signed by thirty-three inhabitants of Upper Chicopee, twenty-four of whom bore the name of Chapin.

The First Parish was so unwilling to let those people go that Josiah Dwight and Edward Pynchon were for two years in succession sent to Boston to oppose the petition. The General Court, however, listened with sympathy and acted favorably. By June, 1751, the framework of the Chicopee Church was "raised", though the building was not wholly completed until 1765. Thus, Upper Chicopee became the Fifth Parish of Springfield.

It was during this period that the Springfield Church acquired a pewter communion service, dated 1742. In 1789 this was given to the Church at Ludlow, where it was used until 1846, and where it is still owned.

At the Springfield Church, the pewter service was replaced by one of silver that continued in use until 1896, when it was in turn

replaced by the individual cups used at present. The most interesting items in the old silver service are the four plain, bellied mugs. Two are inscribed in a floreated panel:

The Gift of Edw^d Pynchon Esq^r to the
first Church of Christ in Springfield.

These two mugs are five and three-quarter inches high, and are marked *J. Coburn*, by the maker. John Coburn was born in Boston



Pewter Communion Set of First Church, Springfield

in 1725. His first wife was Elizabeth Greenleafe; his second, Catharine Vans, daughter of Hugh Vans, the first Dutch citizen of Boston. The records give evidence that he was working at his trade of silversmith in 1750. On August 2, 1776, Coburn advertised in the *New England Chronicle* as follows:

“JOHN COBURN informs his customers that he has removed into Boston again and carries on the goldsmith’s business at his shop in King street opposite the American Coffee-House, where they may be supplied with any articles in the goldsmith’s or jewelry way. He likewise continues to take ladies and gentlemen to board as usual.”

Edward Pynchon, who gave the Coburn cups to the church was one of the fourteen children of John Pynchon, Third, but, as he inherited some of the public offices held by his father, his lot was easier than that of some of his brothers. He died November 3, 1777, leaving

no children. His widow continued in the Mansion House until her death in 1810.

The other two bellied, silver mugs in the communion service are inscribed in a heart:

The gift of Josiah Dwight Esqr to the first
Church of Christ in Springfield, 1761.



Silver Communion Set of First Church, Springfield

The maker's marks on these mugs is a script *Z. Brigden* in a cartouche, for Zachariah Brigden of Boston. Born in Charlestown in 1734, he lived until 1787.

The following advertisement appeared in the *Boston News Letter* of November 19, 1764.

“Just imported from London, and to be sold by Zachariah Brigden, Goldsmith; at his shop opposite the west door of the Town House, Coral Beads and stick coral for children's whistles, money scales and weights, neat watch plyers, sliding tongs, shears and hand vises, coarse and fine iron binding wire, brass hollow stamps and blow pipes, an assortment of files for the goldsmith's use, gravers, scorpers, dividers, sand paper, sandever, black lead pot, large and small crucibles, wood and bone polishing brushes. Also, shoe, knee and stock stone buckles, buttons, crystal and cornelian seals, neat stone bosom broaches, garnet, hoop rings A few pair of neat stone earrings set in clusters, in shagreen cases, cheap for cash.”

Josiah Dwight was born in 1715, graduated from Yale in 1736 and married Sarah Pyncheon, daughter of William Pyncheon, brother of John Pyncheon, Third. Hence, she and Edward were first cousins. Josiah Dwight was a successful merchant and iron founder, who died in 1768.

In addition to the four mugs mentioned, the First Church silver includes two flagons and two cups presented by John Worthington, and six matching cups evidently purchased by the church, but which bear no maker's mark.

Many tales are told of the weathercock on the Springfield Church which do not stand up under analysis. In *Springfield Memories*, Mason A. Green said that "an eagle once lit on the rooster, affording fun for local sports. Dr. Daniel C. Brewer brought out his rifle and fired under it. The impudent bird did not stir. The second shot put daylight through the rooster and the eagle flew". However, the cock itself bears no scars to support such a statement. Equally absurd is the repeated assertion that the body of the bird contains a package of documents, but a painstaking examination shows the fallacy of the story.

It has been often said that the Springfield cock was one of three imported from England, the others being for the Old South Church in Boston and the Church at Newburyport. Actually, the Old South never had a weathercock, but the one at Newburyport is a duplicate of that at Springfield as are the ones at West Barnstable, at Hadley and at Longmeadow.

When the Springfield cock was taken down in 1945 for its most recent refurbishing, an opportunity was afforded to examine it in detail. It measures three feet, seven inches from the soles of the feet to the crest of the comb. The body of the bird is hollow, as are the legs and the beak. The tail feathers, comb, dewlap, spur and feet are of sheet metal of about forty gauge. Over nearly two centuries, time and the elements have taken their toll, necessitating many repairs and replacements. The Springfield bird offers physical proof that neither the tail feathers nor the comb are original. At Longmeadow, there is ample documentary proof of repairs. The records show that after the blowing down of the church spire in the great storm of 1821, the parish voted "to repair the spire of the meeting house, put an iron spindle in the timber to set the weather vane upon,—the vane also to be repaired". The accompanying photograph plainly shows the dent in the breast made at that time.

All of these church weathercocks were made by Shem Drowne, a capable coppersmith, who, with his son Thomas, had a shop on Ann Street in Boston. Evidence of his craftsmanship is shown in the grasshopper vane made by him in 1742 for Faneuil Hall, which was an exact duplicate of the one on the Royal Exchange in London, including the green glass eyes.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Knox Trail

IN THE winter of 1775-1776 Colonel Henry Knox transported from Ticonderoga, New York, to Cambridge, Massachusetts, certain ordnance for the use of Washington's army. One hundred and fifty years later, the states of New York and Massachusetts directed that the route used on that occasion be designated as The Knox Trail, with a granite and bronze marker in each town through which the road led. From Springfield to Cambridge, Knox's route was much as the traveled road goes today. From the Hudson River to Springfield, the changes have been many, but fortunately there is available, ample contemporary documentary evidence to correctly determine the route of 1776.

Any attempt to trace that route should utterly disregard local historians and local traditions. Local histories have usually been compiled by persons of limited horizon, many of whose statements reveal their own absurdity when considered in relation to known facts. The "oldest inhabitant" may have a smattering of knowledge of an old road, but his information, acquired by hearsay, gives him meager basis for an accurate estimate as to when it came into being or ceased to be used. It is the use of such sources of information that has given birth to the statement that Knox traveled over a road "carved out of the wilderness by General Amherst in 1758". While it is true that Amherst led his army over the road later used by Knox, and improved some portions of it, yet the evidence shows that the road was well known and in common use at least twenty-six years before the date of the Amherst expedition.

Probably J. G. Holland is most guilty for the perpetuation of this story. In his *History of Western Massachusetts*, written in 1854, he said: "The first road or path through Otis was made by General Amherst and his army in 1759, on his way from Boston to Albany. On this passage he stayed one night each at Westfield, Blanford, Sandisfield on Noble Hill and Monterey at the Brewer place".

But Holland didn't get even the year right. He was a novelist and writer of historical romance, who built fantastic tales on slight foundations. Writing ninety-six years after Amherst's expedition,

he probably secured his data from some octogenarian who had little conception of locality. Since then, local historical writers have repeated the tale, though there are no facts to justify the statement, and many to refute it. In the hill towns, Holland's history was a fireside companion for a generation or so and there the tale has been read and reread so often that it will probably live forever.

It was evidently all due to the lack of a capital letter "G". Amherst said that when he reached Springfield, on his way to Albany, he "changed the route and resolved to go through the green woods". Through lack of knowledge that the "Greenwoods" was a definite tract between Blandford and Monterey, it was assumed that "through the green woods" was synonymous with "through the forest" and that Amherst meant that he took a beeline through the woods.

In the early days of the colonies, Albany and Springfield were connected by what the Dutch called the New England Path, which had not been established all at one time, but section by section as occasion demanded. The earliest section, which was in use long before the English came to the Connecticut Valley, led from Albany to the Great Ford of the Housatonic at the present Great Barrington. Soon after the settlement of Agawam (Springfield) a path to Westfield was in common use and it was not long before the gap between the two sections was eliminated, providing a continuous path from Springfield to Albany. It is possible that this New England Path followed the route of an Indian trail, for it passed through the only district of southern New England where the forest was of sufficient density to make a marked trail feasible.

It is not clear why this forest existed, or why it was not consumed in the burnings of the natives such as were then so common east of the Connecticut River. Possibly it was because Western Massachusetts was so sparsely inhabited by the Indians. More probably it was because nature, by a process of elimination, had set up a forest of fire-resistant species. There is scant evidence available to provide an accurate picture of the situation or to explain the condition that must have existed there.

Proceeding westward from Springfield, the path did not follow the common route of today through Westfield, but on the line of the present Court Street, continuing to Blandford via the site of the country home of the late Horace Moses. It would appear that on this mountain-side approach to Blandford, the first appreciable forest growth was encountered. West of Blandford and extending some twelve miles westerly towards Monterey, was the forest known as the "Greenwoods". In 1758 General Amherst said that this was made up "of Weymouth pine and the largest oaks I have seen (in America) but not so good by a great deal as in England". Amherst was acquainted with the Weymouth pine as it was the American white pine, largely planted in England by Lord Weymouth.

In time the New England Path became a bridle path and eventually a wagon road. In 1663 John Pynchon of Springfield was transporting trading goods over it by pack-horse, to and from his partner, Major Hawthorne, ancestor of Nathaniel Hawthorne, at Ausatinneag (Housatonic), and Fort Aurania (Albany). Later, in association with Timothy Cooper, of Springfield, Pynchon raised cattle at Ausatinneag for the Albany market. In 1676 Major Talcott led sixty troopers over the same road in pursuit of the scattered remnants of King Philip's defeated army, which he overtook on the banks of the Housatonic, the third day after leaving Westfield.

As early as 1732 a petition of Christopher Jacob Lawton referred to "the extreme badness of that part of the road from Westfield to Albany that lies between Westfield and Housatannuck and the great hardship that travelers are forced to suffer, especially in the winter season, there being no house for the space of forty miles, and praying the grant of five hundred acres of Province land upon condition that he build and keep a house of entertainment near midway on the said road". This tavern, shortly after known as "Pixley's", was three or four miles westerly of the present Blandford Town Street.

Existence of the road in 1734 is evidenced by the granting of four townships, each six miles square "on the road between Sheffield (upper Sheffield, now Great Barrington) and Westfield".

A petition to the legislature in January, 1738, by eleven individuals, stated that seven months before, they had made a good sleigh road "from Sheffield and the several settlements upon the Housatonic river to Westfield and the neighboring towns, and whereas, before, it was a very difficult matter for anybody, and for strangers almost impossible, in a snow of any considerable depth, without a track, which often happens in the winter season, to find the way, now by our having marked a sufficient number of trees, on each hand, an entire stranger cannot easily miss it, and the people living in these parts are now able, and in the winter past, actually did pass and repass to and from Westfield, with more than twenty sleighs, well laden, through a wilderness that was almost impassable on horseback before".

The concluding phase of the French and Indian War came in the decade of 1753-1763, and as usual the burden fell on the American colonies of the two powers. In Western Massachusetts, the Canadian Indians were soon on the war path and though the destruction of property was not as pronounced as in other years, yet through those ten years, no man left his home in the morning with assurance that he would return in safety. During the entire conflict, New England was of great value to the cause of the colonies.

Col. Ephraim Williams was appointed commander of a regiment of colonial troops raised in Old Hampshire County (Berkshire, Franklin, Hampshire and Hampden) for the purpose of wresting from the

French their American colonies. This regiment was included in the force of nearly five thousand New England and New York troops raised for effecting the capture of the stronghold of Crown Point on Lake Champlain in 1755. The expedition was unsuccessful, and Colonel Williams was killed, the Hampshire regiment suffering severely, forty-six being killed and twenty-four wounded. Before leaving Albany on his fatal expedition, Colonel Williams made a will



Col. Ruggles Woodbridge House, Hadley

directing that the residue of his estate be used for providing for a Free School in a town to be called Williamstown. From this foundation grew Williams College.

In 1757 Pitt became the British prime minister, determined to bring the warfare to a permanent conclusion. To that end he recalled from the German war a comparatively unknown colonel named Jeffrey Amherst, whom he elevated in one move to become a brigadier general. To Amherst was intrusted the taking of the French stronghold of Louisburg, in Nova Scotia, which was accomplished July 27, 1758.

The earliest official recognition of the New England Path by the county was on August 27, 1754, four years before the Amherst expedition. This provided for the adoption of a layout entitled, "a road from the town of Westfield, through Blandford and Number One, to the North Parish in Sheffield". Number One is that part of Tying-

ham which became Monterey and the North Parish of Sheffield became Great Barrington.

The journal of James Hill, now in the library of Wellesley College, gives his route on the Expedition to Crown Point in 1755. On June 2d, he lodged at the house of Luke Scott, in Springfield. The following day he crossed the Connecticut and spent the night at Ezra Clapp's in Westfield. On June 4th he dined at the house of Joseph Starr and "marched twelve miles over a very bad mountain and lodged at the house of Huston in Blandford". This was situated below the meeting house on the road to the Housatonic Valley. Robert Huston took out an innholder's license in 1736, and continued until 1740, when the tavern was taken over by John Huston. On July 7, 1756, William Huston had an allowance from the public treasury "for entertaining soldiers on their return from the forts near Lake George". On June 5th Hill went twenty miles through the woods without seeing a house until he came to John Brewer's at Number One, where he spent the night. On the sixth he passed through Sheffield (Great Barrington) where he dined with the Dutch people, and continued on, lodging that night in a barn. On June 7th he dined at Kinderhook, and continued on for twenty miles more, arriving at Albany at noon, Sunday, the 8th.

A table on the flyleaf of the journal gives his itinerary as follows: Springfield, Westfield, Glasgow (Blandford) Number one, Sheffield, Kinderhook, Albany.

On the return journey, Hill left Albany December first, going as far as Half-way house, where he camped. The next night he camped in the woods, fifteen miles farther on. On December 3d he marched twenty miles to Sheffield (Great Barrington), and on the 4th arrived at John Brewer's at Number One, where "there was victuals enough provided". The following day he went twenty miles through the woods to Blandford and continued down the mountain twelve miles more. On Saturday, December 6th, he came to the Connecticut River at West Springfield, where he found that the ferry to Springfield was not in operation, the river being frozen over.

Dr. Caleb Rea made the journey to Albany in 1758, less than four months before Amherst. On Monday, June 5th, he lodged at Day's, across the river from Springfield. The next day he rode through Westfield, Blandford and the Greenwoods to Number One, where he lodged at the Widow Brewer's. He found "extreme bad traveling through the woods by reason of the rain and teams that had passed just before". On Wednesday he rode through Sheffield (Great Barrington) and over the Housatonic into Claverack. "Dined at Brigadier Dwight's and lodged at Hogeboom's, the Stone House". On the 8th he rode through Kinderhook into Greenbush.

When Louisbourg was completely in his hands, General Amherst was ordered to dispose of Fort Ticonderoga as a preliminary to the taking of Montreal and Quebec. Landing at Boston with five complete regiments he led his brigade over the road to Albany, advising Pitt of his proposed itinerary as follows:

From Boston

to Watertown,	11 miles	
To Sudbury	10	
To Marlborough	12	
To Worcester,	15	
To Spencer,	11	
To Brookfield	9	
To Palmer,	15	
To Springfield,	15	98
<hr/>		
To Suffield,	10	
To Simsbury	13	
To Harwington,	9	
To Litchfield,	12	
To Goshen,	10	
To Canaan,	12	
To Salisbury,	15	
To Hackabon's		
als Claverack	9	
To Kinderhook,	14	
To Albany,	24	
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Amherst reported that "this is the route, from the best intelligence I could get at Boston. It may be changed during the march, on further inquiry".

Amherst reached Springfield September 24, 1758. His report to Pitt was as follows:

"25th.—I passed the Connecticut river and encamped a mile on the other side. I changed the route and resolved to go through the green woods, and sent forward the Pioneers.

26th.—I marched and encamped at Westfield.

27th.—I marched and encamped at Blandford.

28th.—I entered the green woods, marched ten miles. The troops lay on their arms this night.

28th.—I marched about nine miles through the greenwood. Arrived at No. 1 and encamped there.

30th.—I marched and encamped at Sheffield (Great Barrington).

1st of October, I halted.

2nd.—I marched about fourteen miles, very rainy, stormy, bad weather. Made great fires and pitched but few tents.

3d.—I marched the troops and encamped at Kinderhook Mills. I went on to Albany, leaving the troops under command of Colonel Burton, with a route and orders to march them accordingly."

Amherst said that "I shall make all the expedition I can,—carry bread and drive cattle with the troops". Yet, with an unwieldy army, traveling over a rough mountain country, transporting his meat on

the hoof, he advanced only about ten miles a day, which would allow scant time for "road carving". However, he must have improved and widened the road sufficiently to permit the passage of artillery.

The foregoing itinerary, from Amherst's report to Pitt is considerably amplified in his personal journal, which reads:

"24th.—I marched before day break by the right and went through a woody country to Springfield. No part cleared, but the woods with no high underwood, as they had burnt it constantly for nearly two years past, and the country people say it has spoiled the ground. I arrived at Springfield in good time. Lt. Col. Robertson met me; he had been to the green wood and thought that by Pioneers and the help of some country people to work, we might pass that way, so I changed my intended route. Springfield has five parishes, about one hundred families in each; lays on both sides of the Connecticut River; is seventy-five miles from the sea and the river is very fine, about five-hundred yards over, but there are some falls between the town and the sea that hinder ships from passing. Navigable for flat bottomed boats. A sloop of seventy tons was built at Springfield and passed the falls and rocks in a flood. I received a letter from Mr. Pitt of June 10th.

"25th.—I got all the ferry boats and other boats that could be had and passed over the five battalions, and encamped on the other side to be ready to march the next day. I sent forward two-hundred Pioneers with tools and the Light Infantry of Frazier's under the command of Major Clepham. We got boats enough to pass a regiment and all its baggage in an hours time so the whole were over in good time, and encamped about half a mile from the water side. I settled everything for the march and passed over, the wagons not coming in as ordered, I was forced to delay the march for a few hours. Next morning I sent Col. Robertson forward.

"26th.—I received letters from Governour Pownal, Lawrence, Monckton &c. The detachments arrived at Boston from Halifax. I wrote to Gov. Pownal and Brig. Lawrence. Marched at seven o'clock, encamped at Westfield, eight miles from the last camp. A cold day; weather quite changed, blew hard.

"27th.—I marched at seven o'clock by the right and by half files with flank platoons, the fourth of the right Grenadiers forming the front and flank platoon and the fourth from the left the rear and flank platoon; the two center platoons ready always to march likewise as flank platoons. We marched through woods, bad roads and over steep hills eleven miles to Blandford where we encamped. Blandford was called Glasgow; it is a settlement of twenty-five years, has a great deal of ground cleared round it for that time; twenty families in it, mostly Irish.

"28th.—I marched early, got into the green woods close by Blandford, the road extremely bad, but not very mountainous. If the country was cleared it would not appear mountainous, the ground good and the best Weymouth pine and the largest oaks I have seen (in America) but not so good by a great deal as in England. (The Wey-

mouth pine was the American white pine, largely planted by Lord Weymouth soon after its introduction into England.) The best of all the evergreens are ugly. I marched ten miles and lay on our arms in the middle of the wood on Noble's Hill. Posted my outposts and sent away ten men per company and twenty officers per regiment, to assist in bringing up the baggage to the top of the hill, but the road was so bad I could only get up the wagons of the Royal and some of Lascelle's.

"29th.—At daybreak I began getting up the remainder of the wagons and baggage and beat the general. 'Twas nine o'clock before all could be got up. Seven broken wagons left which we unloaded and brought the baggage away; a horse of Lacelle's killed by a tree falling. At nine the assembly beat and I marched directly to Number One, about nine miles of bad road. There I got out of the green wood and encamped as soon as the wagons got up.

"30th.—I marched again early by the right and half files with flank platoons; the ground would not permit to march by files or platoons. Passed through the woods to Sheffield (Great Barrington) about nine miles and encamped a little beyond the town. Here I changed wagons, Brigadier Dwight assisting us. King Ben, Captain Jacobs, his son and two more Indians came with an interpreter to see me and dined with me. They came from Stockbridge, seven miles, where there is a settlement. Brigadier Dwight lives here.

(Captain Jacobs commanded a company of Indians in the battalion of Major Robert Rogers, known as Rogers' Rangers. He was a Mohegan, his Indian name being Nawnawapateoonks.)

"Oct. 1st.—The troops halted. The Stockbridge Indians came; the King, his Queen and daughters and Captain Jacobs dined with me.

"Oct. 2nd.—I marched at day break from the right. A messenger met me on the road with a letter from General Abercromby to come to him as soon as I conveniently could. By the badness of the roads, all the wagons could not get up. We marched about fourteen miles where I intended to encamp but the troops were obliged to lay on their arms. It rained most excessively hard.

"Oct. 3d.—I set out in the morning for Albany, fixed on the camp for the troops this night by Kinderhook Mills, fourteen miles from the other camp. I went on twenty-five miles further to Albany, fixed on a camp for the troops for the next day, seven miles from Albany. I passed the Hudson River nearly a mile over. Captain Christie met me. I got to Albany in good time. Five hundred houses in this town, reckoning six to a house."

On arrival at the seat of war, General Amherst replaced General Abercrombie as commander-in-chief, and the following year he captured Crown Point, Fort Ticonderoga and, later, Montreal, when all Canada was surrendered to Britain. Thus the Indian allies of the French were silenced. For almost the first time in one hundred twenty-four years, the inhabitants of Western Massachusetts could feel quite free from the menace and the terrors of border depredations.

For the ensuing sixteen years, Fort Ticonderoga remained almost forgotten and manned only by a skeleton force, from whom it was wrested by Ethan Allen, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress", on May 10, 1775, just three weeks after the Battle of Lexington.

David Shute, chaplain in Joseph Williams' regiment, came in the saddle from Albany in 1758. On October 11th, at sunset, he crossed the Hudson and lodged at Mr. Whitebeak's. The next noon he set out for Kinderhook, resting en route at Half Way House, and reached "the Mills" at Kinderhook, after traveling twenty miles. On the 13th he made an early start, breakfasted at Stone House, nine miles away and lodged with Brigadier Dwight at Sheffield (Great Barrington), twenty-eight miles from Kinderhook. The next morning was rainy and he did not resume his journey until three in the afternoon, but after going five miles was compelled by recurrence of rain, to discontinue and spend the night at Mr. Dana's. On the 15th, he breakfasted at Chadwick's, four and a half miles beyond, and entered the Greenwoods at nine o'clock, but found the roads so bad on account of the rain that he did not get through the eighteen miles of woods until two in the afternoon. He had dinner at Root's, thirty and a half miles from Sheffield, and arrived at Springfield, twenty-one miles beyond, at seven in the evening.

In reverse order this would be:

Springfield, to Root's, in Blandford,	21
To Chadwick's, in Number One,	21.....42
To Sheffield (Great Barrington),	9½.....51½
To Stone House,	19.....70½
To Kinderhook,	9.....79½
To Albany,	20.....99½

Lemuel Wood, of Willard's regiment, went westward in 1759. On Saturday, June 2d, he left Springfield and went as far as Taylor's in Westfield, which was ten and three-quarter miles. On Sunday he went eleven miles to Glasgow, "over the mountains, pushing over the rocks and hills and holes of water and lodged that night at Knox's". On the 4th he "traveled through the Green woods which is exceeding bad traveling and came to Chadwick's in Number One and lodged, which is nineteen miles". The next day he traveled to Sheldon's, a private house in Sheffield (Great Barrington). There, he and his companions acquired a quantity of wine, in consequence of which they were delayed a couple of days and then it rained for a day, so that they did not start out again until the 9th, when they went twenty-two miles "through Noble Town to Canterhook to the Stone house" where they lodged. The following day they went to Canterhook Town, which was three miles. On the 11th they went ten miles to Half Way house and ten miles more to Green Bush, "and lodged at the mills", and went on to Albany the next day.

Sergeant David Holden went to Albany in 1760. Leaving Springfield on May 8th, he "marched about ten miles to Landlord Captain Clap's in Westfield". The next day they "marched four miles and a half to the foot of the mount of Glasgow, where their teams left them and they were obliged to carry their packs on their backs to Sheffield (Great Barrington), so they marched seven miles to landlord Pease's in Glasgow". On May 10th they marched "through the Green Woods to Number One to Mr. Jackson's, which was about twenty miles". The



Huntington House, Hadley

11th they went ten miles to Burghardt's in Sheffield (Great Barrington), and on the 12th eleven miles to Lovejoy's. On the 13th they reached Follicumburrers, in Kinderhook. On the 14th they went ten miles to the Half Way house, and the next day went seven miles to a Dutch tavern in Greenbush and reached Albany on the 16th.

In 1764 Governor Bernard of Massachusetts was requested to have an actual survey made of this post road, as it was then called, and Ensign Francis Miller, then on duty in Newfoundland, was loaned to the Province by General Gage, for this work. The resultant map, now in the Massachusetts Archives in Boston, is a mine of information. Each mile is pricked off and shown. Notable mountains are indicated, as are the streams crossed. The towns of Springfield, Westfield, Blandford, Tyringham, Great Barrington and Kinderhook are designated. This was called the South Road. On the Boston to

Springfield section, at a point west of Brookfield, the road branched and the north road ran through Belchertown, Hadley, Northampton and Pittsfield to the Hudson. After crossing the Connecticut at Hadley, two westerly routes were shown,—one from Northampton and one from Hatfield,—but these again became one road shortly after crossing the Westfield River, that is in the vicinity of West Chesterfield. Pittsfield is laid down one hundred thirty-six miles west of Boston. This section of the road was marked out as a bridle path in 1753, from fifteen miles east of Albany through Pontoosuck to Northampton. This is the earliest map to show it in detail.

More information regarding the South Road was given in Hutchins' *Almanack* of 1766. In a description of the post roads of the country is this itinerary:

ROAD TO ALBANY

From Springfield to Westfield	7
Bounds of ditto,	5.....12
Blanford,	8.....20
Greenwoods,	12.....32
No. 1,	7.....39
Sheffield,	4.....43
Sheffield Bounds,	3.....46
Noble-Town,	11.....57
Bounds of ditto,	4.....61
Stone-House	6.....67
Kinderhook,	10.....77
Half-Way House,	10.....87
Albany,	7.....94

Noble-Town, or Noblestown, was just west of the Massachusetts line, in New York State, and became Hillsdale, New York.

The next readily available itinerary is that of Knox himself, ten years later. It was in the fall of 1775, when Washington's ill-equipped army was besieging Boston, that Colonel Henry Knox conceived the idea of transferring to Cambridge the ordnance lying unused at Ticonderoga. He had abundant opportunity to know of the arduous road conditions to be overcome, but confidently relied on seasonable snows to facilitate the passage of the stout sleds required for such a project. Washington approved the plan with the proviso that the cost should not exceed \$1,000, but in his final instructions he said that the need for cannon was so great that "no trouble or expense must be spared to obtain them". The records show that the actual cost was more than two and one-half times the estimate.

Knox proceeded to New York City and to Albany via the Hudson, arriving at Ticonderoga on December 5, 1775. While in New York he wrote Washington that an establishment for the casting of brass and iron cannon should be provided "where it could be expeditiously and cheaply done", a suggestion that was to result in the establishment of such a project at Springfield.

At Ticonderoga, Knox secured "fifty-five pieces of iron and brass ordnance, one barrel of flints and twenty-three boxes of lead", which were ferried across Lake George and from Fort George. He wrote to Washington:

"I returned to this place on the 15th and brought with me the cannon. It is not easy to conceive the difficulties we have had in transporting them across the lake, owing to the advanced season of the year and contrary winds; but the danger is now past. Three days ago it was very uncertain whether we should have gotten them until next spring, but now, please God, they must go. I have had made forty-two exceeding stout sleds and have provided eighty yoke of oxen to drag them as far as Springfield, where I shall get fresh cattle to carry them to camp. The route will be from here to Kinderhook, from there to Great Barrington and down to Springfield. I have sent for the sleds and teams to come here, and expect to move them to Saratoga on Wednesday or Thursday, trusting that between this and then we shall have a fine fall of snow, which will enable us to proceed farther and make the carriage easy. If that be the case, I hope in sixteen or seventeen days' time to be able to present to your Excellency, a noble train of artillery".

From Albany, on January 5, 1776, Knox advised Washington:

"I was in hopes that we should have been able to have the cannon at Cambridge by this time. The want of snow detained us for some days, and now a cruel thaw hinders us from crossing the Hudson river. The first severe night will make the ice sufficiently strong; till that happens, the cannon and mortars must remain where they are. These inevitable delays pain me exceedingly, as my mind is fully sensible of the importance of the greatest expedition in this case".

The expected freeze materialized and on January 10th, Knox "reached Number One (Monterey) after having climbed mountains from which one might almost have been seen all the kingdoms of the earth". On the following day he "went twelve miles through the Greenwoods to Blandford. It appears almost a miracle that people should be able to get up and down such hills as we have with anything of heavy loads. At Blandford we overtook the first division which had tarried there until we came up and refused to go farther, on account that there was no snow beyond five miles farther, in which space there is the tremendous Glasgow or Westfield mountain to go down. But after three hours persuasion, I hiring two teams of oxen, they agreed to go."

The following receipt shows that at least one local man assisted in the enterprise:

"Blandford, January 13, 1776. Received of Henry Knox, eighteen shillings lawful money for carrying a cannon weighing 240 pounds from this town to Westfield, being eleven miles.

SOLOMON BROWN".

In his crossing of Berkshire County Knox followed the present road from Hillsdale to North Egremont, except that just before entering Massachusetts, the old road turned sharply to the north, crossing the state line at a point a half-mile or more north of where the present road crosses, as the road of that day went to the north of an abrupt peak, instead of to the south of it, as it does today. The course of the old road, however, again coincides with the modern road about half a mile farther east of the state line, and so continues through North Egremont and Egremont Plain to Great Barrington, and then turning east to Monterey.

Monterey of today was the Tyringham of Revolutionary days, but the "Old Center" was a mile and a half north of the present town, in a district now practically deserted. The church shown on the older maps was built in 1743, but was replaced by another building on or near the same site in 1796, which in turn was taken down and moved to Housatonic, so that nothing but the cellar-hole remains at this time.

The evidence shows that there were then two roads through Tyringham. The older was the direct east and west road which was a development of the early bridle path, passing close to Brewer's Pond and the adjacent brooks. On this road was Brewer's, and this road became the town street of Monterey. The northern road was merely a detour to the north to include the settlement at Tyringham and "Chadwick's".

The southern road was shorter for the through traveler, the grades were easier, water was more accessible. On the northern road was the town life,—a tavern perhaps more appealing to a fastidious traveler than would be Brewer's,—more suited to the rough campaigner. The travelers' journals show that the choice of the two routes rested on the mere whim of the individual.

It is self-evident that Knox, with his heavy loads,—with his cattle in need of water,—with his impatience to complete his journey, would avoid the steep grades of the longer road by Chadwick's and choose the road by Brewer's, where his particular needs could be best supplied.

From Brewer's, the road went directly through the Greenwoods to the present East Otis, passing between the two Spectacle Ponds and then through a mountain pass where today there is no road whatever. Here was a condition such as to appal the stoutest heart. Native sons insist that there never was a road there and that it would be utterly impossible for a road ever to have been in such a jumble of mountains, precipices, chasms and valleys, interspersed with rivers, lakes and swamps. After crossing the Farmington River, the way was equally bad. Some realization of the nature of this district is gained from the knowledge that the outlet of Thomas Pond falls two hundred fourteen feet in its short passage to the river. The outlet of Rand Pond cascades with a sheer drop of one hundred four feet.

At that period, the course of the road from Blandford to Westfield was entirely different from that of today. From the Blandford

street it passed through what was once the center of the town of Russell, east of Hazard Pond, and down "Glasgow Mountain" to the present Court Street in Westfield, and so to the center of that town. The road is still in use, though even yet it is quite primitive, but for just that reason, it is of great beauty in laurel time and is negotiable by an automobile in favorable seasons.

With the mountains behind, the way was much easier. Westfield was reached January 13th, and Springfield on the 14th. Though handicapped by lack of snow, the extreme cold of that January provided ice for a speedy crossing of the Connecticut River.

At Springfield there was much to be done; eighty oxen to be returned home; drivers to be paid off and sent back; but it was a resourceful community of ardent rebels. Soon the whole outfit was reorganized and in charge of local men and drawn by local oxen, the guns were on their way, and were delivered to Washington in Cambridge on January 24th. So effective were they, that two months later Boston was evacuated by the British, releasing Knox for the planning of those activities that resulted in the establishment of the Springfield Armory.

At this time, Henry Knox, Colonel of Artillery, was twenty-six years old. Two years earlier he had married the lovely Lucy Flucker, daughter of that all-time Tory, Thomas Flucker, Secretary of the Province. By the same courier that carried his frequent messages to Washington, Knox often wrote to his wife "a little about my travels". One of these letters, written while on this journey, begins:

"My lovely and dearest friend,—Those people who love as you and I do, ought never to part. It is with the greatest anxiety that I am forced to date my letter at this distance from my love and at a time when I thought to be happily in her arms".

One may readily picture this young Romeo, sitting by the fireside of a Springfield tavern while penning such a missive to his Juliet.

Colonel Jeduthan Baldwin of Brookfield went over the road to Ticonderoga in 1777. Leaving Brookfield on February 8th, he lodged at Palmer. On the 9th he dined at Mrs. Clapp's in Westfield and lodged at Pease's in Blandford. On the 10th he dined at Brewer's in Tyringham.

The German contingent of Burgoyne's captured army passed over the South Road in 1777, en route from Albany to Boston. Their itinerary, as given by various Hessian officers, is as follows:

After leaving Albany they passed the night of October 22nd and all of the following day at Kinderhook. The 24th they marched seventeen miles through Claverack, to "the wretched village of Nobletown", where, on account of the scarcity of houses they were forced to encamp in the open. The 25th, after marching thirteen miles they arrived at Great Barrington, where they were quartered in barns. The next day they passed through Tyringham, "across forests and veritable wildernesses and entered a large and wild mountainous dis-

trict called the Greenwoods'', and encamped in the woods near Spring's house, the day's march being fourteen to seventeen miles, the accounts varying to that extent. On the 27th they marched eleven to fourteen miles (the accounts again vary), and were quartered in twenty houses near Gray's house, three English miles from Blandford. On the 28th they covered ten miles and reached Westfield, arriving at West Springfield the 29th.



Joe Herrick House, Conway

Allowing seventeen miles as the distance from Albany to Kinderhook, their total mileage was thus ninety to ninety-two miles instead of the ninety-four miles shown on the schedule of 1766, their itinerary being as follows:

Albany to Kinderhook,	17.....17
Kinderhook to Nobletown,	17.....17
Nobletown to Great Barrington,	13.....13
Great Barrington to Spring's,	15.....17
Spring's to Gray's,	14.....11
Gray's to Westfield,	10.....10
Westfield to West Springfield,	4..... 7
	<hr/>
	90.....92

This variation in mileage was probably because some divisions of the captured army marched farther than others, being distributed in order to provide sufficient housing, as in Blandford, some were quartered in the town and some at Gray's Tavern, three miles beyond.

After a rest at West Springfield, the Hessians proceeded on through the town, to the bank of the river opposite Ferry Lane, now Cypress Street, in "East" Springfield. There the troops were carried over on the County Ferry, operated by Gideon Leonard, the Continental Ferry not being established until the following year.

In November, 1778, however, when Burgoyne's army was moved to Virginia, the equipment of the Continental Ferry was employed in carrying the troops over the river at Enfield, Connecticut, the returns of Thomas Hunstable, "overseer", showing that his department ferried one hundred fifty teams, one hundred horses and three thousand men, "part of the Convention Troops".

Joshua Pillsbury of Dracut, Massachusetts, was a private in Captain Joseph Bradley's Company, Colonel Jonathan Reid's Regiment, when that regiment was selected to escort the Hessian prisoners to Cambridge. He recorded his experience as follows:

"Oct. 15, 1777. Wednesday. Returned to Fort Edward.

Oct. 16. Heard the agreeable news of General Burgoyne's capitulation and the whole regiment was ordered to march immediately to Saratoga.

Oct. 17. Our regiment and the whole army on this side of the river was drawn up and saw our enemies march off their grounds and lay down their arms. Our army that was on that side of the river marched on to their ground and took position. General Burgoyne's army surrendered themselves to the Americans.

British Prisoners,	2242
Foreigners,	2390
Canadian Tories sent to Canada,	1100
	<hr/>
	5732

Oct. 18. To Stillwater,

Oct. 19. Our regiment being ordered as a guard to the Hessians from thence to Winter Hill, accordingly we took charge of them. Marched to Scaticook.

Oct. 20. New City.

Oct. 21. Greenbush,

Oct. 22. Canterhook.

Oct. 23. Drew provisions,

Oct. 24. Egremont, state of Massachusetts.

Oct. 25. Barrington,

Oct. 26. Number One,

Oct. 27. Through the Greenwoods, Louden and Glasgow mountain to Westfield,

Oct. 28. Lay still by reason of a great rain,

Oct. 29. West Springfield and crossed Connecticut river to Springfield,

Oct. 30. Lay still.

Oct. 31. Marched,

Nov. 1. Scott's at Palmer,

Nov. 2. Western and Brookfield,

Nov. 3. Spencer and Leicester,

Nov. 4. Worcester,

Nov. 5. Shrewsbury and Northboro to Marlborough.

Nov. 6. Weston, Framingham, Watertown, Cambridge, Winter Hill. Here we left the prisoners, took our discharge and marched for our respective homes.

Nov. 7. Medford, Woburn, Wilmington, Tewksbury, Andover,

Nov. 8. Dracut."

A bit of confirmatory evidence is found in the diary of Enos Stevens, then in New York City.

"Oct. 20, 1777. News that General Burgoyne is taken and every man is putting on a long face.

Oct. 26, ——. The news of the day is that General Burgoyne and his army are made prisoners.

Oct. 28, ——. It has been a very bad storm for two days."

That same year General Heath called attention to the "almost constant passing and repassing of carriages to the northern army with provisions and military stores". A plea for help in repairing the road had been sent in to Great Barrington, by James Ball and twenty-seven others, "representing that the public road, leading from Westfield, through that rough and but little cultivated tract of land, well known by the name of Green woods, to Great Barrington, is almost impassable for want of reparation whereby a prodigious expense is incurred in teams and carriages,—dashing in pieces of casks and other vessels, occasioning the great damage or total destruction of their valuable contents".

Through the entire period of the Revolutionary War, this road was the most important military road in the country. By order of Washington, General Knox established at Springfield, in 1777, an immense depot for the handling of all war stores, whence were brought the cannon, powder, ball, muskets, tents and other supplies bought in France and other foreign countries. From Portsmouth came the twelve thousand muskets brought from France on the *Amphitrite*. After the Battle of Saratoga General Gates sent thirty brass cannon to Litchfield and three thousand muskets to Springfield.

At Great Barrington, Deputy Quartermaster General Walter Pynchon gathered corn, wheat, bran, oats, flour, butter and nail rods which he sent to Springfield for storage and distribution. In November, 1777, one hundred barrels of flour were sent on from Kinderhook, with the promise of an additional fifteen hundred barrels, "as soon as the roads will permit".

At Springfield, was a company of enlisted men serving as blacksmiths, another as wheelwrights, one of saddlers and one of nail-makers, and a corps of French artisans serving as armorers. William Lowder, master tinman, made teapots and pudding pans for Armand's Flying Corps, and "close stool pans for the use of Doctor Pyncheon at the hospital". There, too, were shod the horses of Pulaski's Legion.

Receipts of the wagonmasters show a constant flow of inbound and outbound freight. To Bennington, -to Ticonderoga, -to Saratoga. To the artillery depot at Litchfield, -to the Highlands of the Hudson, -West Point, -Philadelphia, -Valley Forge. So great was the traffic across the river that the county ferry could not care for it, and Quartermaster General Nathaniel Greene ordered that a Continental Ferry be established. Twelve boatmen were employed, under Thomas Hunstable, with three scows and a sloop named the *Lady Washington*.

Sautier's *Map of the Province of New York*, in 1778, shows New England as far east as the Connecticut River, and this road for its entire distance from Albany to Boston, through Kinderhook and on to Nobletown, either direct or via Claverack. Thence the road went to Great Barrington, Tyringham, Twenty-six mile Pond, Blandford, Westfield and Springfield.

The journal of Joseph Hadfield shows that in an effort to avoid the Greenwoods, he found equally irksome conditions on the Tolland-Granville crossing:

"Sept. 3, 1785.—This morning we left Albany in a wagon, crossed the Hudson river. On the east side we met with nothing particular, the road being through a wood of pine trees. Stopped to rest our horses at Schodack, fourteen miles, and continuing to Kinderhook Mills, belonging to Mr. Vandusar, six miles from which place we proceeded to Clinnock Hill, four miles. Here we dined at a tolerable house kept by Ostrom, a Dutchman. In the evening we proceeded to the Stone House of Claverack, six miles, kept by a Dutchman. This is an excellent house. Good beds and agreeable accommodations. The country in general is barren and our route through woods of pine trees.

"September 4.—We left Hogaboon's at six o'clock and continued on our route to Captain Bottel's, four miles, where we breakfasted. A very good house. From this we went to Great Barrington, to one Timothy Younglove; an indifferent place. This is a delightful situation at the bottom of some very large mountains. There is a pretty church and village here. About five miles from here we arrived at Taconic mountain. From Barrington we proceeded to Sheffield, seven miles, a most beautiful village. There are several persons of easy circumstances and several buildings here.

"We had scarce got half way through the village when we were stopped on the public road by Justice Barnard who took us to task for traveling on Sunday. It was impossible to satisfy him that we were strangers and wished to get forward as fast as possible. He insisted upon our remaining at a tavern until sunset and we were

obliged to comply as he had the means of enforcing his commands. We were, therefore, constrained to remain, being much mortified at a custom that we would rather have dispensed with. Such are the rigid maxims of these fanatics who will cheat you every day of the week but Sunday and even then, before sunrise or after sunset.

"We went from this eastward, over some horrid hills and bad roads to New Marlborough, a small village, five miles. Here our horses, as well as ourselves, being fatigued, we took our night's lodging. Our ride this day has been over some very high mountains enveloped with woods, so that we had no variety.

"Sept. 5.—At six o'clock this morning we left New Marlborough and began one of the most fatiguing day's journeys I ever had in my life. We came to Sandisfield, eight miles, where we breakfasted. (This was in the New Boston section and the tavern is still operated as an inn.) From this to one Fowler at Granville (now Tolland) a tolerable good house, eight miles and from this to Bates in Granville, five miles farther. The route and the road was one continuous chain of mountains, tremendously high, the roads and country around nothing but stones and rocks, so bad that I was obliged to walk seven or eight miles. To attempt a description of the inconveniences and misery of this journey would be impossible.

"Mountainous as the country is, they are settling it very fast, for the soil is proper for wheat. The grass which grows here is remarkably sweet and fattening. In consequence, large quantities of cattle are sent from different parts to be fed here. We arrived at Bates', which is a most excellent house and civil people.

"Sept. 6.—We left Granville at six o'clock this morning. We found the road very bad for about four miles, when we descended from the mountains into a charming vale full of settlements. The lands are highly cultivated. Each farm has an extensive orchard. We continued this pleasant ride which appeared still more so from comparing it with the barren hills that we had been among so long. We passed a small river just before we came to Westfield and I cannot say too much for this charming village, the inhabitants of which are mostly farmers. Their houses are really elegant, far above rural simplicity, yet their neatness, being all painted, conveys all these ideas that arise from the consideration of arcadian dwellings. I was delighted with the spot. We stopped at one Fowler's, who keeps a very good house. (This is the present 171 Main Street. The old tavern had one of the finest carved doorways in New England, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, having been sold in 1916, when the old inn was turned into a private residence.) Westfield is ten miles from Granville. We continued our route through this delightful valley and crossed the river about a mile off. The country and prospect around were grand, the whole bounded by some high mountains, at a great distance.

"We came to West Springfield, situated upon the Connecticut river. Here are many good dwellings and agreeable appendages. We

crossed the river in a scow, a flat bottomed boat, to East Springfield and arrived at Parsons's Tavern, being ten miles from Westfield.

"We discharged our wagoner, Bradt, whom we had brought from Albany, having been four days. Paid him seven pounds, New York currency, for the trip and back, allowing the same number of days to return.

"Were unfortunate in not being able to hire a wagon to proceed with us. Walked out to several farmers but were unsuccessful. In



Porter House, Hadley

the evening, Hunter and I strolled about the town which is a long straggling place. There is a court house and church, two good handsome buildings. The houses in general here were very good, the appearance resembling some of our villages in the neighborhood of London. In the evening we engaged one Morgan to convey us to Boston,—nineteen dollars.

"Sept. 7.—We left Springfield at eight o'clock and pursued our journey upon a hill about half a mile from the town. There are several buildings which serve as arsenals for their cannon, muskets and all sorts of warlike stores. They have chosen this situation, being so far inland and therefore less liable to invasion or to be destroyed by the enemy.

“We met with nothing in the remainder of our ride to Wilbraham, ten miles. This is only a small village. We turned into the Hartford road for about half a mile in order to get a covered wagon from a relation of our wagoner, his being open and heavy. We effected this and returned to the great road to Boston, which we continued for five miles to Palmer, to a tavern kept by one Scott, a tolerable house, where we dined. The road and country was uninteresting until our arrival in the vicinity of this place which is beautifully situated on a declivity of a hill near by the delightful river Chicopee, which runs in the most astonishing meandering course I ever saw, seeming to play through the vale which is surrounded by very high mountains.

“We were obliged, in the course of the day, to cross this at least six or seven times, until we lost it in some small lakes at Brookfield. From Palmer we went to Brookfield, fifteen miles, and stopped a few minutes at Rice’s tavern to rest our horses. We then proceeded, with our intention to go to Leicester, but finding the road very bad, which had been the case most of the day, being very stony or deep sand, we put up for the evening at Colonel Reed’s, who keeps a tavern about two miles farther on. Here we remained the night. A good house and excellent accommodation. The situation is very good, being upon an eminence commanding a fine prospect.”

The journal of Jonathan Brooks, Jr., of New London, Connecticut, now in the collections of the New London Historical Society, records that in 1789 he traveled over a part of this road.

After leaving New London, he stopped at Abbey’s Tavern in Enfield. There he crossed on the ferry to Suffield and spent the night at Worthington’s in West Springfield. The next day he went ten miles to Clapp’s in Westfield. “From Westfield you go on to the mountain called Glasgow Mountain. When you ascend you see a most beautiful country for twenty miles distant”.

At Blandford, or Glasgow, he stopped at Blairs, ten miles from Westfield and then went on seven miles to Frary’s in the middle of the Green Woods. “Here is the Green Woods. It is five miles through and a road that I cannot describe bad enough. It is a hilly, rocky, miry country, and withal the most dismal place I ever beheld. If I had not seen it myself I should have thought it next to an impossibility for a wagon to pass through”.

From Becket, Brooks went on nineteen miles to Steel’s at Washington, and so to the northwestward. As he states, he went a bare quarter of the westerly route through the Greenwoods, turning north to Becket and Washington. Evidently, even as late as this, the traveler was appalled by the seeming impassability of the westward road.

In 1790 William Loughton Smith went over much of the same route as that of Brooks. Leaving Springfield on the morning of August 26th he crossed the river and breakfasted at Westfield.

“It is nearly at the foot of the mountain that must be crossed in progressing westward; any communication to the east and west of

this long ridge is attended with difficulty, as the crossing of this mountain in any place is bad and troublesome, particularly with a carriage. I was in a four-wheeled carriage and unfortunately selected the worst place. Leaving Westfield I coasted along the river, through a very bad, but a very romantic road; it is over rocks and through a thick forest; on one side high mountains clothed with woods to their summit; on the other the river just below you, running rapidly over a bed of rocks and high mountains clothed with impenetrable forests, rising on the opposite shore. I then crossed a large wooden bridge, and having the river on my right, began to ascend the mountains; now for miles the badness of the roads exceeds description. We ascended for five miles a steep mountain which took us four hours; the prospect consisted of nothing but other mountains rising one above the other, rocky and bleak, here and there the appearance of a new settlement in the woods.

“We got to a place called by some Glasgow, and by others Blandford Street. This is for a few miles a tolerably level country, the prospect commanding. From Blandford Street we proceeded on towards Becket; for a mile or two the road was tolerable and the prospect fine, on the right an extensive view of a well-cultivated country and many waving hills. We then entered a wood and had for about six miles the most execrable road that was ever traveled by a carriage; a narrow track through a forest, the path full of huge rocks and loose stones, up and down hill the whole way; I trembled every step of the way lest the carriage should be shattered or the horses give out; we were obliged to quit the carriage and walk the whole way. I could only advance at the rate of a mile an hour. With much difficulty we reached a tavern kept by one Foley, five miles from Blandford Street, where I put up for that night, and contrary to my expectations from the external appearance of his house, got a decent supper and good bed. He was settled in the midst of the forest, surrounded with rocks and woods and his habitation had the most dreary appearance. Early on Friday I proceeded on and had about two miles of road, if possible worse; with much care the carriage was got through without damage, and then quitting the forest we arrived at Becket, where lives one Perkins.

“Becket is a small town situated on very high ground. The country around it appears well cleared and settled in comparison with the wilderness I just left. In the road from Westfield to Becket little else is seen but forests and rocks, with here and there a new settlement and others just forming. The whole has very much the appearance of a country in its infant state”.

There is confirmation that a dozen years later the route was identical with the earlier routes, for the *Old Farmer's Almanack* for 1802, gives the following stage and tavern list. The distance from Springfield to Nobletown is about the same on this schedule as on that of 1766, though the entire distance to Albany is eighteen miles shorter,

probably because the latter route was direct from Nobletown to Kinderhook, instead of through Claverack.

TO ALBANY AND QUEBEC

Springfield,	Parsons Tavern,	
Over the river to,	Ely's	2.....
Westfield,	Clapp	7..... 9
ditto	Emerson	3.....12
Blandford,	Knox	6.....18
Greenwood,	Rowley	6.....24
ditto	Emerson	3.....27
Tyringham,	Chadwick	7.....34
Great Barrington,	Root	9.....43
ditto	Whiting	1.....44
Egremont,	Hicks	4.....48
Nobletown,	Cowles	4.....52
ditto	Mackinstry	3.....55
ditto	Ray	3.....58
Stonehole,	Haggaboom	3.....61
Kinderhook	Geofe	4.....65
ditto	Voubarg	2.....68
ditto	Fitch	8.....76
Albany Ferry,		

This date was on the eve of the Turnpike Era, in Massachusetts, the days of the toll-road built by private capital. Though the Greenwood tract offered some interest to the capitalist, yet delays held off any real action until the coming of the railroads brought new interests, and the territory saw little improvement in roads, until the automobile brought with it the modern highway.

Based on the foregoing evidence, Massachusetts erected in each one of the twenty-five towns involved, a granite and bronze marker reading:

Through This Town
Passed
General Henry Knox
in the
winter of 1775-1776
to deliver to
GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
at Cambridge
The Train of Artillery
From Fort Ticonderoga
Used To Force The British Army To
Evacuate Boston.
Erected by the Commonwealth of
MASSACHUSETTS.

CHAPTER XXXII

The Coming Storm

IN 1763 the Peace of Paris brought an end to the Indian wars but it left Western Massachusetts little less than an armed camp of confident, truculent men, trained to war, to whom the taking of a life was not uncommon. The Crown gave them ample cause for irritation. The Stamp Act was passed in 1765. In 1770 came the Boston Massacre. In 1772 the revenue cutter *Gaspe* was destroyed by a mob, and in 1773 the Boston Tea Party was held.

Benjamin Franklin, when postmaster general of the colonies, had directed the accurate measuring of the post roads and the setting of mile stones, many of which can still be seen. Over these post roads, competent and reliable post riders carried the mails and the newspapers, enabling the yeomanry to band together and form Committees of Correspondence and Committees of Safety while companies of Minute Men were most active in preparing for the inevitable conflict. Opposed to these were many people of wealth, ministers, doctors, lawyers and holders of office under the Crown. They were called Tories by the rebels, or "friends of government" by their own associates, and were deemed akin to the "fifth columnists" of modern times. Prominent among the latter class, in Springfield, were Colonel John Worthington and his son-in-law, Jonathan Bliss. After the outbreak of hostilities Worthington steered a diplomatic middle course and successfully weathered the storm, but Bliss became so unpopular that he retired permanently to New Brunswick, sanctuary of so many Tories.

In 1774 John Singleton Copley, the famous artist left Boston for Europe and never returned. His stepbrother, Henry Pelham, son of Peter Pelham, also an artist, remained in America and between the two half-brothers, a voluminous correspondence was long kept up.

On February 16, 1775, Pelham wrote to Copley an account of what might have been a rather distressing experience in Springfield at the hands of irresponsible Tory baiters. His letter reads:

"I now propose giving you an account of my journey to Philadelphia. I purchased a horse and disobligant (*i. e.*, a desobligeant, or chaise) and on the 18th of September in company with our friend Mr. Lee and lady and Mr. and Mrs. Startin, set out upon the tour

about two hours before day, hastened by an unexpected visit from the country mob, Mr. Lee having offended them by adjourning the court, which they said was a carrying into execution of the regulation bill.

"We met with nothing remarkable except very fine weather which we had the whole journey, till we arrived at Springfield. Here an unlucky visit from a gentleman, one of the new mandamus councilors who had resigned a few days before, upon being most severely threatened and ill treated, affixed the name of tory upon us and was



James Scott Dwight Home, Present Site of Victoria Hotel, Springfield

(Sketch by Alice B. Tufts, 1892.)

near springing a mine which would have entirely marred our journey. The occurrence, though it disturbed me, afforded me some amusement. I had often seen the proceedings of a Boston mob but never of a country one. I will give you the particulars, knowing from experience the pleasure arising from a minute detail of the most trifling occurrences our distant friends meet with. We had not been long at the tavern where we put up for the night, when a party of four and twenty who had been out that day shooting squirrels, met to divide their booty, which raised a quarrel among them. This, with the plenty of liquor they had, made them noisy and riotous. The landlord, willing to have his house clear of this confusion, requested they would depart, acquainting them that he had travellers who wanted rest, and with more zeal than prudence, declared they should not have a drop more to drink. This made them outrageous, and Colonel Worthington and Mr. Bliss, two friends of government, coming out of our room and passing through theirs, drew all this resentment

against us. They said he had a damned pack of tories in his house and they would have us out. Resistance on our part increased the tumult on theirs. They loaded and fired their muskets (for they were all armed) in the house and at the windows. This you may well suppose created much noise and confusion which continued for near two hours. At length, one more peaceably disposed than the rest, persuaded them to disperse for the night and in the morning insist upon our making an acknowledgment of our offenses and recant our principles. This, with the landlords asking their pardon in a very humble manner, cooled them down so we had our night's rest. In the morning early, we set out, leaving those sons of ——— to find recantation where they could. From Springfield to New York we met with nothing extraordinary except now and then a small affront, which experience made us disregard. We were thirteen days between Boston and New York which afforded us ample time for seeing the several agreeable towns which lie upon Connecticut river”.

Emanating from a similar lawless spirit was the looting of the stocks of Samuel Colton, the Longmeadow merchant. Under date of July 24, 1776, Pastor Williams noted in his diary:

“A number of people gathered together, some dressed like Indians with blankets and manifested uneasiness with those that trade in rum, molasses, sugar &c. A number went to merchant Colton's and have again taken away his goods. I don't see the justice or equity of it. Many don't approve, but have not resolution enough to interpose and endeavor redress.”

This was Longmeadow's own form of a Boston Tea Party.

The gentle, eighty-three-year-old pastor was himself strongly suspected of Tory leanings. He could “perceive that the people are out of humor with me for things that I have said and done. I fear they are very ready to misrepresent my words, even in prayer. Today, Mr. Trotter of Stafford came hither to preach for me. He appears a bold and daring man; very popular and doubtless greatly pleases our warm people”.

His dilemma came from the fact that he was too conservative, and too old, to adapt himself to changing conditions, and fearful of the consequences of an unsuccessful revolt. All his life he had been loyal to his king and it was hard for him to leave off praying for him.

One can sense the resentment with which, on August 11, 1776, he “read publicly, being required to do so by the Provincial Council, the Declaration of the Continental Congress for Independence”.

Realizing, perhaps, the futility of his protests, he came gradually to recording the facts without comment.

On October 1, 1776. “Several persons inimical to American liberty were brought to town, from westward, near Hudson river. Some were confined in jail here, others carried to Worcester”.

On November 16, 1776. "A number of men from Long Island called tories, who have shown themselves unfriendly to the liberties of America, were escorted by a party of armed men and came to Deacon Ely's to breakfast".

Lacking barbed wire and other materials for concentration camps, many of these Tories were confined "for the duration" in the underground passages of the Newgate copper mine at Granby, Connecticut.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Storm Breaks

FROM the time of the first landing of the colonists on American shores, a means of alarming the countryside was invoked, calling for an unquestioning response for the common defense against Indian attacks or other imminent dangers. When the mother country alienated the loyalties of the American colonists by her demands, and used force to stamp out the resentment those policies engendered, she too became an outside menace and the gathering for the common defense was almost an instinctive reaction.

In the decade following the final French and Indian war, opposition to Great Britain's policies became increasingly apparent, and the political maneuvers of Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, and the organization and activities of the Sons of Liberty, were crystallizing the general feeling. Chief among the results of Adams's work, was the organization of the Committees of Correspondence.

With the meeting of the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia, statutory regulations began to be formulated to provide for united action in case of possible attacks by the British. Soon after its meeting, the Congress considered and approved unanimously a set of resolutions which had been passed by the County of Suffolk, Massachusetts, at a general meeting and submitted by the county to Congress. Joseph Palmer was chosen the Moderator of this meeting. Palmer, who lived at Braintree, was one of the outstanding political leaders in Massachusetts, being a member of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress and later a member of the Committee of Safety.

One of the Suffolk resolutions provided,—“that should our enemies by any sudden maneuvers render it necessary to ask the aid and assistance of our brethren in the country, some one of the Committee of Correspondence or a selectman of each town or the town adjoining where such hostilities shall commence, or shall be expected to commence, shall despatch couriers with written messages to the selectmen or Committees of Correspondence of the several towns in the vicinity, with a written account of such matter, who in turn shall despatch others to committees more remote”.

On the evening of April 18, 1775, the members of a committee in Boston, of which Paul Revere was one, who had been watching the movements of the British, observed considerable activity in the

British camp. Dr. Joseph Warren, one of the Committee of Safety, summoned Revere about ten in the evening and asked him to go to Lexington to warn Samuel Adams and John Hancock, another of the Committee of Safety, that the British were on the march and that it was believed that they were the objects of the movement. Revere crossed the Charles River by boat and secured a horse for his purpose. Waiting only for the prearranged lantern signals from the belfry of the North Church in Boston, he rode away to "spread the alarm through every Middlesex village and farm, for the country folk to be up and to arm".

"You know the rest. In the books you have read, how the British regulars fired and fled, how the farmers gave them ball for ball, from behind each fence and farmyard wall, chasing the redcoats down the lane, then crossing the fields to emerge again, under the trees at the turn of the road, only pausing to fire and load".

While the Battle of Lexington was in its early stages, Joseph Palmer and his associates conferred at nearby Watertown, to discuss the situation in view of their duties and undertakings. Shortly before ten o'clock that morning, a terse account was drafted, reciting the salient facts, which was handed to a veteran post-rider, Israel Bissell of East Windsor, Connecticut, with instructions to proceed to Worcester with all dispatch and after delivering it to Nathan Balding, town clerk, to comply with such instructions as he might receive.

At Worcester, copies were made of the original message and entrusted to couriers proceeding to towns lying northward. Bissell rode away to the south with his original and continued the proceedings at Norwich, Connecticut. The alarm reached New York at four, on the afternoon of Sunday, April twenty-third. From New York to Philadelphia the express rode all night, calling at Brunswick, April twenty-fourth at two o'clock in the morning, Princeton at six, and Trenton at nine, reaching Philadelphia at five, the afternoon of April 24th. By similar stages the message was delivered through Virginia and the Carolinas.

In the meantime another rider, with another duplicate message, was enroute from Worcester to Brookfield, where Jedidiah Foster took over. From there, riders were dispatched to Belchertown, Amherst, Hadley and Northampton, whence the news was relayed to the upper valley towns,—to Pittsfield and to northern Berkshire. Another courier went west and galloped into Springfield in the early morning hours bearing the document addressed "to all friends of American liberty". The bell of the old First Church rang out wildly. Rev. Stephen Williams, pastor of the church of the third precinct at Longmeadow, noted in his diary,—“This morning as soon as it was light, the drum beat and three guns were fired as an alarm. The story is that some of the troops had marched from Boston to seize some military stores at Lexington or Concord and some men had been killed, but the accounts are vague,—we must wait. The minute-men are

gone to town and men are collecting from various parts and we have reason to fear that much mischief is done”.

The following day, April 21st, he added that “this morning at four o’clock another message is come advising that there has been a smart engagement at Concord between the regulars and our people and many killed, but we have but uncertain accounts. ’Tis said houses are burnt and men and women killed. More men are collecting and



Musterfield House, Clarksburg

going forth. I prayed with a company. The Lord be pleased to go with them and prosper them, keep them in fear. This day we met together for prayer in the meeting house”.

The townsfolk gathered at the Court House on Main Street, where Sanford Street now is, and this message was read to them,—

“Watertown, Wednesday morning, near 10 o’clock.
To all friends of American liberty,—

Be it known that this morning before break of day, a brigade consisting of about 1,000 or 1,200 men landed at Phipps farm at Cambridge and marched to Lexington where they found a company of our colony militia in arms, upon whom they fired without any provocation and killed six men and wounded four others. By an express this moment we find another brigade are now upon the march from

Boston, supposed to be about 1,000. The bearer, Mr. Israel Bissell, is charged to alarm the country quite to Connecticut and all persons are desired to furnish him with fresh horses as they may be needed. I have spoken with several persons who have seen the dead and wounded.

Joseph Palmer
One of the Committee of Safety."

Time was precious,—paper was scarce. Turning over the document, on the back was recorded the names of sixty-two Springfield men eager for action. Half a pound of powder was issued to each. One hundred and eighty musket flints were brought out for those who needed them, of which thirty-two were returned to the town stock.

The actual document, delivered by the courier on that fateful day, bearing the names of those sixty-two heroes is now in the office of the City Clerk in Springfield City Hall. After all these years the writing is so legible that all but one of the names can be readily read. They are as follows,—

Jacob Colton, Jr.
Ebenezer Colton
Moses Harris
Calvin Bliss.
Ebenezer Rumney,
James Taylor
Spencer Myrick
Thomas Hale,
Jonah Cooley
Abner Cooley
James Nash,
Gad Horton,
Joseph King,
Zadock Bliss
Henry Stiles,
Silvanus Hale,
Jacob Chapin,
George Wright,
Peter Colton,
Abiathar Stevenson.
Joseph Kellogg, Jr.
Squire Aaron Steel,
Gad Bliss,
Abner Russell,
Matthias Lanckton.
Jeduthan Sanderson,
Able Hancock, Jr.
Aaron Ferre,
Samll Bliss
Justin Smith,
Jonathan Ingersoll,

Asahel Cooley,
Medad Stebbins,
Samuel Keep,
Oliver Field,
Illegible——
John Burt, Jr.
Caleb Cooley, Jr.
Oliver Burt,
Israel Chapin
John Stedmant,
Phineas Stedmant, Jr.
Samll. Edson,
Benjamin Parsons
Jacob Kellogg,
Alexander Bliss,
Patrick Neugent,
Phineas Chapin
Solomon Chapin,
Joseph Chapin, Jr.
Philip Smith,
Eleazer Chapin, Jr.
Arthur Granger
Walter Pynchon,
William White,
Jabez Snow,
Arthur Hitchcock,
Solomon Brewer
Luther Hitchcock,
Abijah Edson.
Robert Stevens,
Samuel Gridley.

These were the men who went out from Springfield on that April day, some to eight years of war and others never to return.

This roster should be of especial interest to genealogists, for six of these names are of men who had no other service record in the war. They may have been enthusiastic youths who joined in this expedition, only to meet with parental objections on later occasions. These six were,—

Ebenezer Rumney.
Phineas Stedman.
Solomon Chapin.

Philip Smith.
Arthur Granger.
Jabez Snow.

Number twenty-six on this list is Jeduthan Sanderson, son of Medad Sanderson. After the war Jeduthan returned to Springfield, where he was married and had a son Harvey, a Springfield business man well known to many still living in the city. Following the Lexington affair, Jeduthan, then twenty-one years old, joined the Continental Army and was in the Battle of Bunker Hill, two months later. Following his Bunker Hill experience, Jeduthan wrote to his father of the situation.

Roxbury, June 29th, 1775.

Honored Father,—

After my regards to you I take this opportunity to let you know that I am well, as I hope these lines will find you and all my brothers and sisters. I have some news to write. In the first place there was a skirmish between Charlestown and Cambridge and the King's troops drove our men out of our intrenchment because they had no powder and they have intrenched on Bunker's Hill and our men have intrenched on Winter Hill where the regulars retreated to when the first battle was at Concord, which was June 16. They fired the same day at Roxbury and threw bombs and carcasses in order to set the street on fire, but by the goodness of God they did not, for our men, as soon as they had set it afire, would go up and put it out, and they fired no more until last Saturday. Then they fired again and tried to set it on fire but they would go and put it out. One of our men took one of the carcasses and brought it up to the General, before it went out. And they set two or three houses afire. But they were as fierce as a bloodhound to put them out. Then the Rhode Islanders went down on the Neck with two or three field pieces and fired at them and made their sentries run to the breast-work. And then they fired upon our sentries and killed two of them. We are building a fort in Roxbury and digging a trench across the Neck. No more at present, so I remain your obedient son,

Jeduthan Sanderson.

Harvey Sanderson, grandson of the writer of that letter, cherished the epistle until his death in Springfield in 1889, at the age of ninety-one.

At the time of the Revolution, the church of the third precinct, of Springfield, now Longmeadow, was in charge of the Rev. Stephen Williams, born at Deerfield in 1693. At the age of nine he was taken captive by the Indians and carried to Canada, but was redeemed eighteen months later. Graduating from Harvard in 1713, he went to Longmeadow the following year and remained with that church until his death in 1782, in his ninetieth year. He served as army chaplain in three campaigns; at Cape Breton in 1745, at Lake George in 1755 and again in 1756. He was with his kinsman Ephraim Williams, founder of Williams College, when the latter was killed at Lake George in 1755.

When the Revolution broke out, Pastor Williams was eighty-two; too old a man to adapt himself to new ideas. He had experienced the cruelties and miseries of war and dreaded the effect on his flock. All his life he had been loyal to the king and it was hard for him to leave off voicing prayers in his behalf, as the rabble bade him.

On April 28th he noted in his diary that "George Cooley who went with a wagon and provisions is returned. He says that our men who went from here are stopped at Waltham". At that time the poor, bewildered dominie began to "perceive that the people are out of humor with me for things I have said and done". On May 11th was a public fast, and the occasion was taken advantage of to bring in the Rev. Mr. Trotter of the Stafford church for a pep talk. "He appears a bold and daring man, was very popular and doubtless greatly pleased our warm people. Some of his notions I could not join in with. I myself shamefully fell on sleep in the time of the forenoon sermon. I perceived a coldness among my own people towards me because they apprehended I don't think with them as to present times and measures. I heartily desire their welfare and happiness. My conscience is void of offense".

On June 20, 1775, he related that the town was depressed by "a sorrowful account from our troops,—that there had been an engagement between them and the regulars at Bunker's Hill in Charlestown, and considerable numbers slain on both sides. Our people were driven out of their intrenchments and the town of Charlestown was burnt down by the king's troops. We hear of no particular persons being killed but Dr. Warren who was president of the Provincial Congress. My wife's son, Nathaniel Burt is returned home. He was not far from Bunker's Hill where the fight was and saw the fire at Charlestown and heard the hurras and shouting among the troops".

In time the radical elements of the town became more restive and arrogant, transferring their animus from the saintly pastor to others whom they considered lukewarm in the patriot cause. In Williams' diary we read, that on "July 24, 1776, a number of people gathered together, some dressed like Indians with blankets and manifested uneasiness with those that trade in molasses, sugar, etc. A number went to merchant Samuel Colton's and have again taken away his

goods. Many don't approve of it, but have not resolution enough to interpose and endeavor redress''.

In a petition of Samuel Colton's he said that "a great number of persons, blacked and in disguise assembled together at a late hour of the night at your memorialists house, he and his family being then within and retired to rest. Upon which he begs leave to observe that pure, honest patriotism does not need any disguise. Neither does it seek the darkness of the night for a covering. These are rather the marks of spoilers and robbers and no doubt their number and disguise was designed to terrify and intimidate your memorialist. Being thus assembled, they forcibly took and carried away a large quantity of his goods, to the amount of about two or three hundred pounds hard money. It is true that your memorialist obtained and got back a part of these goods again into his possession. But not many days after, the same persons assembled again in the night, forcibly broke open his store locks and took and carried away the whole of his rum and salt, ransacking and searching his house from top to bottom, plundering and carrying away what they saw fit''.

On August 11, 1776, in the Springfield churches there was "read publicly, being required by the Provincial Congress, the Declaration of the Continental Congress for Independence''.

Ten days later, Joseph Bumstead, a trusted servant in the Williams home, together with the pastor's grandchild Stephen, were off to the wars. The day before their departure, the grandfather had penned words of advice to the youngster that he gave to him on his leaving home.

"Longmeadow, August 20, 1776.

My dear Grandchild,—

As you are going abroad and may be exposed to difficulties, dangers and sickness and possibly to the sword of the enemy, as also you may be in danger; great danger of sin, I give you these directions.

1st,—Take care of your health, don't unnecessarily expose yourself to heat and cold: be careful as to your diet and don't be too free with fruits that are like to chill your stomach and expose yourself to dysentery and diseases common to the fall of the year.

2nd,—Obey the orders of your officers. Don't expose yourself to military punishment by disregarding the orders of your superiors. Be kind to your companions and fellow soldiers.

3d,—Avoid temptations to sin, to all manner of sin. Don't accustom yourself to drinking; to sit with those that meet together to drink. Don't take God's name in vain. Carefully avoid gaming; playing at cards and dice. Those persons that do so generally fall into much sin.

4th,—Fear God and keep His commandments.

5th,—Attend upon the public worship of God when you can.

6th,—Pray to God in secret.

7th,—Read the scriptures daily.

8th,—Avoid quarelling and contention. Get some acquaintance with my relations in Roxbury and let them know who you are. Behave with decency and modesty and so as to credit religion and adorn the doctrine of God, our saviour. The Lord be with you and keep you in his fear. Hear, oh my grandson, and receive my saying, that the years of thy life may be many. If the Lord please, I hope I may yet see you in the land of the living. The Lord prepare you for what his pleasure may be as to that.

I am your loving grandfather,

Stephen Williams."

The old gentleman closed his journal for that year with these words,—“The last day of the year. It has been one of the most remarkable in the history of America. The people, by their Congress have declared independency, and the King's troops and fleets are come against us”.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Burgoyne's Army in Massachusetts

IN JULY, 1777, a British Army under the command of General John Burgoyne, left Canada with the intention of securing control of the Hudson River, thereby separating New England from the Middle and Southern States. The army comprised seven battalions of British infantry, an artillery section and a mixed force of hired German troops, collectively called Hessians. The latter were a few Hessian rifles (regiment of Hesse-Hanau), a corps of dismounted dragoons and a mixed force of Brunswickers. The artillery was composed of five hundred and eleven rank and file, including one hundred Germans. The army was divided into three brigades under Major General Phillips, Brigadier General Fraser and Brigadier General Hamilton. The Germans were distributed amongst the three brigades, with one reserve corps under Colonel Breymann, and were immediately commanded by Major General Riedesel. Bringing up the rear was a motley collection of women and children. The expedition was expected to be little less than a triumphal parade and many of the officers arranged for their wives to take part in the affair, hence Madam Riedesel accompanied the army, riding in a Canadian calash with her two children. The wives and progeny of many of the enlisted men trudged along with baskets on their backs, in which were pots and pans and other equipment with which they prepared the meals of their men folk, while on the march.

With these eight thousand troops, Burgoyne anticipated an easy march to Albany, there to meet St. Leger descending the Mohawk and Howe ascending the Hudson, and by their combined efforts breaking up the Revolution.

But the fate of the army lay with Lord George Germain. After writing the orders for Howe to cooperate with Burgoyne, he left them to be copied and went to Kent on a visit. Consequently they were delayed and did not reach Howe until August sixteenth, after he had left New York on his expedition to the Chesapeake, when it was too late to effect a junction with the army from Canada. St. Leger's force came to a disastrous end and Burgoyne's force was sadly weakened by a sortie on Bennington. Thus the entire northern army of the Americans was left free to oppose the Canadian army and Burgoyne was forced to surrender at Saratoga on October 17, 1777.

By the terms of the surrender, the captured troops were to be marched to Boston by the easiest route, where they were to be given passage to England, on their promise not to serve again in America during the war.

General John Glover of Marblehead was delegated to escort the prisoners to Boston. As he must draw on the inhabitants along the line of march for subsistence, he divided them into two divisions, sending the British by way of Williamstown and Northampton and the Germans by Kinderhook and Springfield, each with a competent guard of militia. Each division had its own commissaries, quartermasters and wagonmasters with instructions to take bills for what supplies they received from the people and give orders on General Glover for payment. The number of prisoners, wagon-drivers, horse-men and guards aggregated at least six thousand. Glover, doubting the possibility of securing on the march sufficient provisions for so large a number, collected at Albany as large a supply as possible and wrote to Jeremiah Powell at Boston, to have an additional supply meet them at Worcester.

The march across Massachusetts was a march through an enemy's country. The use of German mercenaries, or Hessians, had awakened the direst hatred against the whole army, and to this day the epithet, "mean little Hessian", leaves no doubt as to its meaning. As late as fifty years ago, mothers deterred their ill-behaved youngsters with the warning that the Hessians would get them if they did not mend their ways. The natives complained that the prisoners burned their fences, destroyed hay, grain and flax and stole furniture and clothing from their houses. Though the weather was cold and stormy, in many places they were refused shelter in either houses or barns.

Many letters and journals of officers and men of that day have been preserved, from which a great part of the following account is taken, though only when an undeleted sentence or paragraph is used, do quotation marks appear. One officer wrote,—

"The women of all this district, as far as Boston and New York are slender and straight, and are plump, without being stout. They have pretty little feet, good strong hands and arms, a very white skin and a healthy color in their faces, without having to paint. Hardly any of those I have seen are pitted with small pox, but then, inoculation has been common here for many years. Their teeth are very white, their lips beautiful, and their eyes laughing and lively. Moreover, they have a natural, unconstrained manner, a free and cheerful countenance, a natural assurance. They care much for cleanliness and for being well shod. They dress very becomingly, but all their clothes must fit them very closely. They curl their hair every day, make it up behind in a chignon, and in front over a cushion of moderate height. They generally go out bareheaded and at most set a little heart-shaped thing or some trifle on their heads. Here and there, a country nymph lets her hair fly and braids it with a ribbon. However poor may be the hut in which they live, they put on .

a silken mantle and gloves when they go out. They know how to wrap themselves in a mantle very prettily, so that a little white elbow peeps out. Then they put on some kind of well-made shade hat, from under which they peep coquettishly with their roguish eyes. In the English colonies the fair ones have taken a fancy to mantles of red silk or wool. Dressed in this way a girl runs, jumps and dances about, wishes you a pleasant good-day, or gives, according to the



Reuben Bliss Salt-Box House on South Main Street, Springfield

question, a saucy answer. So they stood by dozens, all along our road, passed us in review, laughed mockingly at us, or from time to time dropped us a mischievous courtsey and handed us an apple. We thought at first they were girls from the towns, or at least from class number two, standing by the roadside; but lo and behold, they were the daughters of poor peasants, whom you could recognize as poor peasants by their clothing”.

General Whipple was in immediate command of the British contingent, and the force, consisting of 2,442 troops, left Saratoga at noon on October 19, marching as far as Tull’s Mills. On the next day, five miles were covered and a halt was made at Old Hoosick to give them time for the baggage and sick to catch up. On the morning of

the 21st it was very snowy and wet, but the march was resumed in the afternoon and another five miles covered. Next day, Hoosick and Pownal were passed and a halt was made at Williamstown.

They were two days in crossing the Green Mountains, the roads being almost impassable. After a heavy snow commenced, the confusion was great, carts breaking down, some sticking fast, others overturning, horses falling with their loads of baggage, men cursing, women shrieking and children squalling. At Williamstown they first learned the value of British gold, and the farther they proceeded the greater its value appeared; the inhabitants inquiring if the prisoners needed any paper money and outbidding each other. Here they exchanged a guinea for twenty paper dollars, but later received much more. Two of the prisoners deserted there and became lifelong residents.

At Williamstown the forces were again divided, a small part under the escort of General James Brickett going to East Hoosick and over the mountain, continuing down the Deerfield Valley, through Charlemont, Shelburne, Greenfield, Bernardston and across the Connecticut River to Northfield. After a brief stop at Northfield they recrossed the Connecticut and followed the river down through Deerfield and Hatfield, crossed the river at Hadley and encamped for one night on "Aqua Vita", the lower part of the meadows on the north side of Hadley Street.

General Brickett was much liked by the prisoners and often rode beside the officers, conversing with them. One day he was jogging along with one named Sone who complained that he was uncomfortable walking in such weather for want of a pair of boots, whereupon the General replied that he would sell those he had on. Sone offered him a guinea and he immediately dismounted, took a pair of shoes from his saddle bags and pulled off his boots, which he exchanged for the gold.

The main body of the British, under General Whipple, left Williamstown on the 23rd and stopped at New Ashford for the night. A gold spoon recently dug up there, is supposed to have been the property of one of the officers. The noon of the following day was spent at Lanesboro and the night at Pittsfield. Tradition says that one of the officers concealed his money in a brick oven at Lanesboro, but some one took out the rear end of the oven and stole the money. C. J. Palmer of that town long cherished a coin dated 1729 which was dug up on the field where the soldiers encamped. The Rev. Thomas Allen of Pittsfield, noted in his diary, "2,500 of Burgoyne's army marched to Boston by way of Pittsfield".

On the 25th they passed through East Mountain and Partridgefield and spent the night at Worthington, going as far as Chesterfield the following day. There Thomas Thomson and John Howes deserted and, in July, 1779, the former married Margaret Ogilbe of that town, and the latter Hannah Buck of Gore.

The 27th was wet and rainy but the troops went as far as Northampton, and as the storm turned into snow and hail the following day, they stayed there for another day and night.

General Glover, having left Albany on October 23d with General Burgoyne, whose constitution was much shattered, here caught up with the troops. Burgoyne was quartered in the old Henshaw house, and it was in that house, on October 27, 1777, that he wrote to the Earl of Derby, in England, saying that he was then one hundred fifteen miles from Boston, hoped to reach Cambridge by November 5th.

On the 28th the troops crossed the Connecticut River and, after another wet day, spent the night at what was even then called "Old Hadley". Here Burgoyne lodged in the house of Colonel Elisha Porter, occupying the room on the lower floor, looking out on West Street. So much was he impressed with the kindness of his host that he presented him with his dress sword, which General Gates had returned to him at the time of surrender. It is a slender, triangular rapier, with hilt of solid gold and guard of elaborate design. The entire length of the blade is inlaid with gold filigree work and on the sides of the base, near the hilt are traced "G.R." and the British arms. The scabbard is of leather, ornamented with silver.

On the 30th the troops proceeded over the old stage road, passing through the south end of Amherst, Belchertown, and the northerly part of Palmer, then through Ware River to Western (Warren). On the next day Brookfield was reached, where a halt was made for the Greenfield contingent, and the Germans who had gone by the way of Kinderhook, so that all could get together to draw provisions. It was decided that the German division should thereafter follow the same route as the English, keeping a day's distance behind them, and on November 2nd the British marched through Spencer and Leicester and spent the night at "a small neat town called Worcester". On the 3rd they marched through Shrewsbury and spent the night at Northboro. November 4th they marched through Marlboro and encamped at Sutton and on the following day marched to Weston. Some of the troops encamped there while a part went on to Waltham for the night. Thomas Anbury, one of the prisoners, wrote:

"The last town we left, before our arrival at this place was Weston, where we found the most convenient inn of any on the road. It is equal to most in England, the rooms commodious, provisions good and servants attentive; above all, the landlord is a friend to our Government and like all of that description, has been much persecuted. He was not without his apprehensions of being sent to prison for attentions shown to the officers who stopped at his house, which was nothing more than the common civility he showed to all his guests; in short he was deemed by the Americans a rank Tory".

"Our march from Westown to Cambridge was the most unpleasant of any as it rained incessantly and we reached the barracks on Prospect Hill very late in the evening, which were unfortunately in the

worst condition imaginable for the reception of troops, being so much out of repair that we suffered severely from the inclemency of the weather; the barracks were, in fact, bare of everything; no wood and a prodigious scarcity of fuel, in so much that we were obliged to cut down the rafters of our room to dry ourselves. The method of quartering was dreadfully inconvenient; six officers in a room not twelve feet square. Permission was denied us to accommodate ourselves with rooms in this town, till General Burgoyne arrived and represented our situation to the Council at Boston, when it was reluctantly granted. We labored under many distresses and difficulties; every species of provisions was very dear and to our misfortune could hardly be procured for money''.

Mrs. Winthrop, who was an eye-witness, said:

“The baggage wagons were drawn by poor, half-starved horses, but to bring up the rear was a noble looking guard of American brawny, victorious yeomanry, who assisted in bringing those sons of Britain to terms, some on wagons drawn by fat oxen, driven by joyous looking Yankees, closed the cavalcade”.

For details of the experiences of the German prisoners, we are indebted to the letters of various German officers and to those of Madam Riedesel who continued with her husband during his detention in this country.

A few days after the surrender, the captured officers were entertained in a most hospitable manner at the home of General Schuyler at Albany, whose fine property at Saratoga had just before been wantonly destroyed by Burgoyne. After giving a detailed account of her kind reception at Albany by General Schuyler's family, she said, on her departure for Boston:

“Fortunately I had kept by me my little carriage which carried my baggage. As it was already very late in the season, and the weather raw, I had my calash covered with coarse linen, which in turn was varnished over with oil, and in this manner we set out on our journey, to Boston, which was very tedious, besides being attended with considerable hardship. I know not whether it was my carriage that attracted the curiosity of the people to it, for it certainly had the appearance of a wagon in which they carry around wild animals, and often I was obliged to halt because the people insisted upon seeing the wife of the German general with her children. For fear that they would tear off the linen cover from the wagon in their eagerness to see me, I very often alighted and by this means got away more quickly. However, I must say that the people were very friendly and were particularly delighted at my being able to speak English, which was the language of the country”.

The German troops, 2,198 in number, under escort of Colonel Reid of the 2nd New Hampshire regiment, left the prison camp on October

18th and commenced the march to Boston, with the British. All of the 19th was spent in crossing the Hudson, as only a small number of boats was available. Night overtaking them before they were again in marching order, they bivouacked in a meadow. On the 20th the two nationalities separated, the Germans going to Schaghticoke, "a hamlet composed of Dutchmen; a rich and highly interesting people". From this time on they found great abundance of apples. From these an immense amount of cider was made, both in New York and all the New England states, and was often kept from three to four years. At this place the Americans first began to steal the prisoners' horses, "an infernal proceeding which they kept up through the entire march". By way of comfort, they were told that they had either stolen them themselves or else had bought them from some person friendly to the king, who in turn had stolen the horses from them. They could not understand however, how the Americans could confound Canadian and German horses with theirs.

They passed many Dutch and German farm-houses. The farmers had immense stores of grain, large heaps of which lay in mows covered with movable roofs. They went this day as far as Lansingburg (New City), a small town on the Hudson, but lately started, being only eight years old. It was founded by two individuals named French, who built beautiful dwellings and warehouses, but being Tories, they were forced to abandon their property to the bakers, smiths and artisans who quickly took possession. Many houses, however, were standing empty. They found there a well equipped hospital, in which they met several wounded soldiers belonging to their army. The troops were obliged to bivouac at this place and encounter the discomforts of a snow and rain storm during the night. The day's march was ten miles.

On the 21st it rained and snowed during the entire day. The houses were a quarter of a mile and even more apart, and the roads were hilly and bad. After covering fourteen miles they arrived at Greenbush, and put up houses of boughs in a wood near the dwelling of a rich farmer named Woolesworth. During the night it froze hard.

On the 22nd the march was almost entirely through woods, in which, every little while, they came across miserable dwellings. After going twelve miles, they came to a plain lying between several hills, where was situated the borough of Kinderhook, consisting of about seventy houses. Riedesel said,—“This town was settled by Dutchmen, most of whom were loyal to King George. The most prominent house in the village belonged to a Tory named Van Shaak. It was built of stone and three stories high. This man showed them many attentions and was very kind to them. The rest of the people, who were Dutch by birth, were also kind. They had but one fault,—that is they were selfish and were as fond of money as a Jew. Every article they sold was terribly dear. Most of the houses were very well built and nicely furnished. The inhabitants in general, lived well. Their breakfast consisted of milk, tea, roast meat, baked apples and all kinds of rich butter-cakes. Those who were in com-

paratively easy circumstances, had gilt frames on their mirrors, and very good pendulum clocks. Similar household furniture was found all along the road to Boston. As all the barns of the farmers were full of grain, they had to camp out in a neighboring wood".

Riedesel, the German commander left Albany on the 20th, riding in the calash with his wife and overtook his troops at Kinderhook where they were encamped in the woods and were having a day of rest. On the 24th they marched through Claverack, a small hamlet inhabited entirely by Frenchmen, the pastor of the place standing in the road with several of his flock and bestowing upon them his apostolic benediction.

On this day they marched seventeen miles to "the wretched village of Nobletown" (Hillsdale, New York), where they were forced to encamp in the open air on account of the scarcity of houses. The night became so frosty that in the morning they looked like sugar coated toy men.

On the 25th, after passing over miserable, stony and rocky roads, that led partly through woods, they arrived at Great Barrington, where they took up their quarters, having marched thirteen miles. A rougher and more spiteful people they never saw. Their patience was often stretched to its highest tension on account of the churlish treatment they received. Most of the officers were not allowed to cross their thresholds, but, in common with their soldiers, had to take up their quarters in stables and barns. This place had a fine and well built church. Hitherto the roads, leading through the valleys had been good, but now they led over mountains and grew constantly worse. Riedesel here complained that Colonel Reid, not being a good soldier, directed their march toward the best taverns. All his expostulations were in vain, the commander being intent only on having things as comfortable as possible for his own men. After reaching the mountains, a terrible rain storm made the roads even worse. The teams for the transportation of the provisions and the sick were to have been changed at Great Barrington, but as they had not been ordered previously, it was impossible to collect them, and an unnecessary halt had to be made. Finally, a sufficient number were obtained to carry the provisions but the sick were obliged to remain there. An American commissary by the name of Thillemann, a German by birth, who remained behind to send them forward afterwards, took much pains to induce the prisoners to desert and enlist in the American Army.

On the 26th, in terrible weather, they passed through Tyringham and West Otis, a region of forests and veritable wildernesses. At first they swore at the abominable roads, but ceased when they found they became worse, as cursing could not do them justice. Presently they entered a large and wild mountainous region called "the Greenwoods", "dismal enough to silence the most disobedient child by threatening to send it there if it did not behave". After marching seventeen miles they "encamped in this American Caucasus", while, to make things still more uncomfortable, it rained the entire night. As

several men had dropped out on account of the fatigue and want of shoes, they were forced to encamp near Spring's house, which was nearly between the two Spectacle ponds. The road traveled was through West Otis, then southerly and easterly through the northern part of Sandisfield.

On the 27th it rained still more and the number of stragglers increased. "The roads became so horrible that a curse was merely a waste of breath". After marching eleven miles, they took up cantonments in twenty different houses, near Gray's house, about three



Eagle Tavern, West Springfield, 1888

Approximate site of West Springfield Trust Company.

miles from Blandford. In these houses, seven regiments and their escort of seven hundred men were quartered. A part of the troops continued on and slept in the Blandford Church. So great was the desire to obtain shelter there that the town authorities feared the galleries would fall from the weight of the troops. People living in the town in recent years remember hearing tales of the bringing of the Hessian fly in the straw in the wagons.

On the 28th orders were given to march as far as West Springfield. The weather alternated between rain, snow and hail, and the wind was so piercing that no matter how warmly they were wrapped in their cloaks, it penetrated to the marrow. In addition, their wet clothes froze as stiff as iron. The march was so disorderly that prisoners and men belonging to the escort fell behind and lost their way. Two grenadiers were frozen to death in the woods and many pack horses were lost in the same way. The oldest soldiers admitted that they had never experienced such a march. On arriving at Westfield, "a very neat village", the experience they had passed through

that day so aroused the sympathies of the inhabitants that they opened their doors to them. Riedesel succeeded in making friends and in finding shelter for his men.

On the north side of Main Street, a few steps east of the railroad, stood until some fifty years ago, a house long occupied by Lyman Lewis. This was a tavern kept by Alexander Grant, and there Riedesel's officers were quartered. A boy in the Grant family remembered seeing a sentinel pace back and forth before the door and he stopped to look at him as he went to school. He also remembered that one of the officers died there and his body was laid out in the corn house. The buttons removed from the gaiters of this officer were long worn by one of the Grant family.

Riedesel himself was entertained for the night by "Landlord Fowler", in the old tavern called "Harrison's Tavern", which he built and in which he died. The house is still standing, on the south side of Main Street, though the hand-carved, ancient doorway is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The landlord's daughter was a very pretty woman, and tradition says that the general not only danced with her but courteously kissed her good-bye at the door, when he took leave in the morning. They found it the custom in this place to put lightning rods on the churches and all the handsome buildings and houses, to prevent their being struck by lightning. From here and even as far as Boston, they found this invention of the learned Franklin in universal use, both in the cities and in the country. They had never seen anywhere, larger cattle or swine, although along the Connecticut River they found oxen weighing 1,800 pounds and hogs 500 pounds.

On the 29th, the rain continued, accompanied by snow and hail. The roads were still bad, but not so dreadful as before. After covering seven miles they arrived at West Springfield, "a village of scattered houses with its own church". By entreaties and various representations, Riedesel succeeded in obtaining quarters for his men and they were taken into the houses of the villagers. The people were "tolerably kind, but damned inquisitive". From this village and in fact from the entire neighborhood, whole families came to visit them, going from house to house to gaze upon the prisoners. From the general, down to the common soldier, all had to stand inspection. The higher the rank of the person so visited, the longer they stayed and "sized him up". They offered chairs to the pretty girls and by this means gained time partially to revenge themselves by staring at them in return. Finally, they became tired of that sort of thing, as one party after another continued to enter their rooms without knocking. They actually believed that their hosts charged an admission fee to see them. Encampment was made on the common and Riedesel was, by invitation, the guest of Rev. Dr. Lathrop. Riedesel's horse was there shod by the father of Sewall White. The beauty of the valley led at least a dozen to desert and become residents.

Apollos Miller became a farmer; John Andrice Isenee, a farmer, who was killed by lightning while haying in the Agawam meadows;

Godfrey Vanganeer, commonly called "Old Wagoner", a miller; David Hartunk, a mason; Valentine Worthy, weaver; Thomas Pollock, weaver; Hendrick Salter, tailor; Frederick Stockman, shoemaker; Thomas Ewing, farmer; and Dr. Hilliam, a physician who lived to an advanced age with an extensive practice in Chester, Blandford and Granville. Dr. Brewer went over from Springfield to attend some of the sick Germans and as the paymaster's chest was empty, he was given the chest in payment.

One of the officers kept notes regarding the Negroes who were found on most of the farms west of Springfield.

"The negroes here are very prolific, like the rest of the cattle. The young ones were well fed, especially while they were still calves. Moreover, slavery is very bearable. The negro is to be looked on as the servant of a peasant; the negress does all the coarse housework, and the black children wait on the white children. The negro can take the field in the place of his master, and so you do not see a regiment in which are not large numbers of blacks, and there are well-grown, strong and sturdy fellows among them. There are also, many families of free blacks here, who occupy good houses, have means and live entirely in the style of the other inhabitants. It looks funny enough when Miss Negress pulls up her wooly hair over a cushion, puts a little shade-hat on her head, wraps herself in her mantle and shuffles along the road in this finery, with a slave negress waddling behind her".

On the 30th the troops had a day of rest. "It was the custom of the women and girls in this neighborhood either to sit upon side saddles or ride upon pillions placed at the backs of their husbands or gallants. Very often a young beauty might be seen leading an entire cavalcade at full gallop. The young 'bucks' with their miserable clothing and female trappings, looked as if they had stolen their attire from the women themselves".

On October 31st Riedesel crossed the Connecticut to "East Springfield", to make arrangements with the authorities of that place for a supply of provisions. In the meantime, the troops remained at West Springfield, enjoying a much appreciated rest, providing an opportunity for repairing their torn clothing and shoes. Part of the troops succeeded in crossing the river, where, notwithstanding their entreaties, they were relegated into a wood three and a half miles easterly, by the Committee of Springfield.

Springfield was an exceedingly lively little village with very pretty houses. It is true that the houses lay from fifty to one hundred paces apart, but this space was either a yard or a garden, which was separated from the street by a fence. The gardens also contained statues. This place was a veritable magazine for the storage of weapons for the Americans, and it also had a small but very well built armory or arsenal. They here saw various parks of artillery with their trains and, among other things, twelve entirely

new four-pounders of French make. The store and magazine houses were filled from top to bottom and workmen of all trades were seen in all the houses, engaged in the manufacture of ammunition wagons, guns, etc. They saw there, wagons which could not have been better made in England. Order prevailed everywhere; an old man with a large gray overcoat attracted their attention by his scolding and the noise which he made. They learned that he was Master-General of Ordnance.

During their march, prisoners who had been captured at Bennington, were met with in almost every place. They had been farmed out amongst the inhabitants who had the use of them in return for furnishing board, lodging and safe keeping. Some wished to go on to Boston with their comrades while others were satisfied to remain where they were. At Springfield, Riedesel found Cornet Johann Balthasar Stutzer and Chaplain Melzheimer of the Regiment of Dragoons, and Lieutenant Theodore Frederick Gebhardt of the Grenadier Battalion. Stutzer had been severely wounded but the other two only slightly.

Subsequent history shows that Chaplain Melzheimer and Cornet Stutzer were sent to Rhode Island for exchange in September, 1778. Stutzer died November 29, 1821, as a pensioned lieutenant colonel in Brunswick. Melzheimer deserted from his regiment May 11, 1779, and joined the American army. Gebhardt died June 3, 1810, in Brunswick, as a pensioned lieutenant colonel.

In 1895 two skeletons were exhumed on Long Hill in Springfield. The skull of one was fractured at the crown by a blow from some heavy instrument and the right ankle bone, near the foot, showed a cut nearly an inch and a half long. The second skeleton did not bear so many traces of violence, but the left side of the skull was crushed by a blow. At the time it was a question as to whose bodies these were, but later a local woman solved the mystery by calling to mind a story of her grandfather, Roderick Lombard, who lived near by. He was a Tory in sympathies, and after the Battle of Bennington, harbored two Hessians, who were wounded there and brought to his house. He kept them secretly and when they died, buried them in the field where these skeletons were found, so that these would seem to be the remains of the two soldiers.

From Boston, Major General William Heath wrote to Washington,—

“I have given orders for the prisoners and guards being supplied with provisions at the different (military) stores on the route from Springfield to this place, as it will be almost impossible to obtain them otherwise. With respect to the victualing of them here, I objected to it, but I have consented until I can obtain your Excellency's pleasure”.

From Springfield, on November 2, 1777, General Glover wrote to General Heath at Boston,—

“I am happy to find such steps have been taken as will supply the prisoners till they get to the place where they are to be cantoned. I have ordered on from Kinderhook one hundred barrels of flour, the greatest part of which is arrived at this place. Fifteen hundred barrels more will be on as soon as the roads will permit”.

On the 1st of November, the prisoners resumed their journey and marched to Palmer,—“a miserable hamlet some twelve miles distant”, where from necessity they were obliged to encamp. From this place, as far as Boston, mile stones were set up at the distance of every mile. The place of encampment was in front of the Deacon Brainerd house, then a tavern, and it is probable that General Riedesel and family were entertained there. During the encampment there, a child was born to the wife of one of the soldiers and a soldier died. The next day his body was interred in the old burying ground in the village. The place of the burial was preserved in the minds of some local people and, long after, it was indicated by a piece of iron pipe located about seventeen feet south of the Benjamin Walker monument on the southwest border of the cemetery. Apparently the Germans were not impressed with the appearance of King’s Row in 1777. News of their coming had preceded the prisoners and there were many there besides the young women whose curiosity brought them out in force to see the wonderful procession. Palmer had furnished nineteen men in Lieut. Joshua Shaw’s Company, who fought at Saratoga, and their friends at home doubtless turned out to see the prisoners they had helped to capture.

On the 2nd their march led through Western (Warren), a village containing good houses and wealthy inhabitants, to Brookfield, fifteen miles farther, where they joined the English troops. The people of the village refused to admit them into their houses, claiming that neither General Gates nor Colonel Reid, who commanded the escort, could demand it of them.

On the 3d they passed through Spencer and Leicester the people of which were of the same mind as those of Brookfield and treated them in a similar manner. After a great deal of discussion with the stubborn colonel, Riedesel finally succeeded after a march of eleven miles, in procuring quarters for his men. On the 4th, a short march brought them to Worcester, “a thriving little city”. General Burgoyne, and Phillips, with Brigadier Glover arrived at the same time. Riedesel who in several letters had previously complained to Glover of the conduct of Colonel Reid, took this opportunity for an interview with him, with the result that thereafter the troops were better quartered. After much discussion, the citizens allowed them to occupy their houses and barns; the battalion of Barner being quartered in a large meeting house. A brigadier and one of his aides lodged with a lady of distinction who had two sons in Howe’s army, and her husband was residing for the time being in England. “She was obliged to pay rent for living in her own beautiful house and

her furniture had been levied upon by the Committee. In order, also, to make her life as happy and tranquil as possible, the committee had taken possession of her land and in fact exercised a general supervision over her entire possessions. To prevent, moreover, anything from being stolen, the committee had put large locks on the house. The lady, whose condition they pitied from the bottom of their hearts, received them with attention and friendliness. She had



Lieut. David Billings House, Hatfield

been well brought up and her two very handsome daughters seemed to pattern after her. Indeed, they hesitated to receive the many attentions she showered upon them, and insisted upon doing their own cooking. The eldest daughter presented her betrothed to them; a very worthy young man, who in turn introduced them to other reputable young men in the town. These, in former days, had servants to wait upon them, but were now compelled to bow the knee before the gentlemen composing the Committee. In every city, village and county, Congress had appointed Committees who ruled, subject to its approval and saw to it that all its decrees were obeyed. Indomitable zeal in the maintenance of liberty and the execution of the commands were the necessary requisites for membership in this Committee,—a membership which conferred upon one the power to

rule over his fellow citizens. These gentlemen were in other times plebeians, and Heaven help him who was suspected by them of being a Tory. Many families were then living under this suspicion. At their command, the minister left the altar, and the male members of his congregation grasped the musket and the powder horn”.

In this town they received fifteen thalers of paper money, or about ninety shillings in the same currency, for one guinea, although, according to a law passed by Congress, one guinea was supposed to be worth twenty-eight shillings in paper money.

On the 5th of November they tramped through Shrewsbury and Northboro to Marlboro, sixteen miles farther.

On the 6th their way led them to Sudbury, a hamlet in which they found a train of artillery, a magazine and other implements of war. They camped in Westown, thirteen miles distant. At last, on the 7th, they passed the village of Watertown, marched through Cambridge, and entered the barracks, with a loss by desertion of over a hundred Germans and many British. Mrs. Winthrop, who saw them enter Cambridge, said,—“On Friday, we heard that the Hessians were to make a procession on the same route that the British had, just before. The sight was truly astonishing. I never had the least idea that the creation even produced such sordid creatures in human figure; poor, dirty, miserable men. Great numbers of women followed, who seemed to be the beasts of burden having bushel baskets on their backs by which they were bent double. The contents seemed to be pots and kettles, various sorts of furniture, children peeping through gridirons and other utensils, some very young infants who were born on the road, and women barefoot and clothed in rags”.

At that time there were in Cambridge a number of bare and treeless hills on which were numerous barracks, built in 1775 for the use of our troops when besieging Boston. Maj. Gen. William Heath, who commanded at Boston, had received instructions to put these barracks in order for the prisoners, notwithstanding which they were in bad condition, being without foundations and built of boards through which the wind and snow penetrated from all sides. They were lighted only by dormer windows and afforded not the slightest protection from the cold. It was impossible to heat them, as all available fuel had been consumed by the American army in 1775, and within a distance of five miles hardly a tree was to be found. The English were quartered in the barracks on Prospect Hill and the Germans in those on Winter Hill. The officers were allowed to quarter themselves wherever they could find board in Cambridge, Medford, Mystic, Charlestown or Watertown, with a parole of about ten miles, but, to preserve order among the troops, certain officers of each regiment lived constantly in the barracks. There the troops were kept, month after month. Congress realized that the terms of the surrender were disadvantageous to the victors, as it was seen that Burgoyne’s troops would be used in England for garrison purposes, thus relieving enough men to form a fresh army to send to

America. It was therefore decided to take advantage of all possible technicalities and retain the prisoners indefinitely.

On March 18, 1778, Congress gave Burgoyne and his staff permission to return to England on parole, provided that 40,000 thalers be paid, which sum was charged for the maintenance of the army up to that time. As no money was to be had, it was paid in provisions, Howe sending ships from Rhode Island laden with flour and meat.

The remainder of the prisoners were, however, retained. The days were passed with petty fights and more serious brawls between them and the Americans, whose hatred of each other was intense. As many as possible were induced to desert and join the American army. One day, the entire band of the 62nd Regiment, excepting the master, deserted in a body and was attached to a regiment in Boston. To counteract desertion, in April, 1778, Riedesel agreed with Heath to give the farmers of neighboring villages, men who, while working would be provided with passes and report every Thursday at roll call. In this way the troops could earn something and have a pleasant change. Privates, sergeants, and even some of the ensign standard bearers were allowed to go into the cities and country to earn a living for themselves. Many of them were compelled by necessity to do this and people from places a hundred miles distant came to Boston to hire men. Those having trades did very well and were able to earn money, but those who had no trades were obliged to thresh, chop wood and do other menial offices. It was hard to make the Americans understand that the officers had no professions. They believed that it was from caprice that they would not work at them. Every inhabitant who had a prisoner in his charge, was held responsible for him, but this responsibility was often construed to be a duty to entice the prisoner to desert.

The English officers were of a restless disposition and life became irksome without books, newspapers or amusements. Some officers from the west of England introduced the diversion of cock fighting at Watertown. Riedesel, ever thoughtful of the appearance of his men, publicly reprimanded them because they went without their neck and pigtail ties.

Because of fears of their being rescued by British forces, then at Newport, Rhode Island, the English troops were sent in detachments to Rutland, Massachusetts, between April and September, 1778. Barracks were built and surrounded by pickets twelve feet high, and here the men were kept, not being allowed amongst the town's people without a pass. One captain went with each regiment and one lieutenant with each company, Major Carter of the Artillery being the senior officer. These few obtained quarters in the houses of the villagers, where they had their own horses and servants, but the majority of the officers remained in Cambridge as quarters were scarce in Rutland. Three of these officers lost their hearts and married three damsels named Hall, Stone and McClennathan.

John Frink, Jonas Howe and Colonel Daniel Clapp were made a committee to build the barracks. The site selected was several acres in extent, at the junction of the Rutland and Barre Road with the new Boston Road about three hundred and seventy rods west of the church, on land later belonging to Miles Holden and Amy Hunt. They contracted with Captain Thomas Reed, who erected a frame building one hundred and twenty feet long, forty feet wide, two stories high, with twenty-four rooms, each twenty feet square. It was built in a substantial manner, clapboarded, shingled and arranged with bunks. In later years, when the buildings were torn down, the material was used in the construction of various dwellings, a card factory, a store and a tavern. The last of the old guard house was pulled down in 1888. The only thing now remaining is the old well, seventy-five feet deep with its masonry still in good condition.

A Worcester County bride, enroute to her new home in western New York in 1818, passed through Rutland and wrote her parents that she "saw those ancient barracks, erected in the old war. Ten chimneys and windows on the front side,—very much decayed".

The prisoners were guarded by Captain William Tucker of Charlton, and Captain Peter Woodbury of Royalston, with their companies. Two sentinels were at the gate, one at each corner of the stockade, one at the guard house and one at the storehouse at the Dublin Road.

Congress finally directed that all the troops should be removed to Charlottesville, Virginia. It was arranged to send the baggage of the privates from Newport to Philadelphia by sea and thence to Virginia. Wagons were ordered for the women and children, the wounded and sick being left in the hospital at Cambridge. They were marched to Connecticut and placed under the orders of Governor Trumbull, and in like manner escorted from state to state, each state furnishing escort and wagons, until they reached Virginia.

When these orders were issued, the Massachusetts authorities were immediately apprehensive of some untoward incident. The prisoners would pass through Worcester, where a considerable number of military prisoners were interned, and a concerted uprising was possible. At Brookfield were quantities of quartermaster's supplies and much powder. At Springfield, the opportunity for serious mischief was too great to be ignored, and the town was avoided by shunting the forces south on reaching Wilbraham.

On October 28, 1778, General Heath advised the Massachusetts Council:

"I propose to march the British in three divisions; the Germans in two, under proper escorts to Enfield in the state of Connecticut, where I shall deliver them to the order of Governor Trumbull. The British are 2,263, including officers, the German 1,882. Considering the troops are to pass not far distant from our most important magazines and also to restrain them from strolling. I propose that the escorts to each division of the British should consist of about one hundred men, for the effecting of which I must request that your

Honors would detach from the militia in the vicinity of Rutland, two captains, four subalterns and 140 men''.

General Heath, on November 1st, wrote to Col. Jacob Gerrish of the Massachusetts Militia, with orders to:

“Make all possible expedition and persue the route given you. You will send orders to the officers commanding at the magazines at Brookfield and Springfield to double their guards and continue to do so until all the divisions have passed over the river”.

The first division was composed of the English artillery, grenadiers, light infantry and the 9th Regiment under command of Colonel Hill and the German grenadiers, the dragoons who survived the Battle of Bennington and the Regiment Von Rhetz under Major Von Mengen. The second division was made up of the 20th and 21st English Regiments under Major Foster, the Regiment Von Riedesel, and the Regiment Von Specht under Brigadier General Von Specht. The third was the 24th, 47th and 52nd English Regiments under Brigadier Hamilton; and the Battalion Barner, Regiment Hesse-Hanau and the Hesse-Hanau Artillery under Brigadier Gall. Hamilton was in direct command of all the English, and Von Specht of all the German troops. Major Hopkins was commissary and gave universal satisfaction.

The first division left on November 9, 1778, the second on the 10th, and the third on the 11th, keeping one day apart. On the 9th, the first division marched to Sudbury, on the 10th to Marlboro, the 11th to Shrewsbury, on the 12th to Worcester, and on the 13th to Spencer by way of Leicester. The night of the 14th was spent at Brookfield, the 15th at Palmer, the 16th at Wilbraham and the 17th at Enfield, in Connecticut.

A Continental Ferry had been established at Springfield in July, 1778, under Thomas Hunstable, operating three scows and a bateau. On this occasion, these boats were moved down the river to Enfield, where they carried over the river “3,000 men, 150 teams and 100 horses, part of the Convention troops”.

The troops reached Suffield on the 18th, Simsbury on the 19th, New Hartford on the 20th, and Norfolk on the 21st. Up to that time the troops were quartered only in barns. Sometimes divisions were miles asunder, as not more than two regiments were in one barn. At Norfolk the march became more difficult; over mountains and through forests. The roads were covered with ice and the cold wind drove the snow and sleet in the faces of the men. They could not reach the towns and camped in the woods.

On the 23rd, after crossing the Housatonic River, they reached Salisbury, and on December 5th, after a hard march, they arrived at Sharon. Here again they were forced to cross high, steep mountains where only two men could walk abreast.

Lieutenant Anbury said that:

“At a small town we passed through in Connecticut, called Sharon, there is an exceedingly curious mill, invented by one Joel Harvey, and for which he received a present of twenty pounds from the Society of Arts and Sciences. By the turning of one wheel, the whole is set in motion; there are two apartments where the wheat is ground, two others where it is bolted, in a fifth threshed and in a sixth winnowed. In another apartment, hemp and flax are beaten and in an adjoining apartment it is dressed; what adds greatly to the ingenuity of the construction is that either branch may be discontinued without impeding the rest.



At Right, Ely Tavern; At Left, Elijah Blake Home

As they stood on Dwight Street, Springfield, just before being demolished in 1894.

“Most of the places you pass through in Connecticut are called townships, as the township of Enfield, Suffield, etc. which are not regular towns as in England, but a number of houses dispersed over a large tract of ground, belonging to one corporation that sends members to the General Assembly of the States. About the center of these townships stands the meeting house or church, with a few houses; sometimes the church stands singly. It is no little mortification when fatigued, after a long day’s journey, on inquiring how far it is to such a town, to be informed that you are there at present; but on inquiring for the church or a particular tavern, you are informed it is seven or eight miles farther”.

Riedesel accompanied the first division from Cambridge to Watertown, then, returning, performed the same service for the second and third divisions. He then returned to Cambridge to arrange for his final departure, buying a new carriage and all things needful. On November 28th he commenced his journey, he and his

wife in one carriage and the servants and baggage in the other, and with Colonel Troup for his escort. The night of the first day was spent at Worcester. Washington and Lafayette saw the troops at Fishkill, after which Lafayette left for Boston. At New Hartford he met Riedesel and his family, where they had halted for a day. Riedesel had arrived in advance and was occupying the only good tavern in the town. Knowing the Frenchman's love of a good meal, he invited him and his escort to dinner, and an enjoyable time was spent.

Riedesel compared the people of Connecticut with those of Massachusetts; much to the disparagement of the latter. He found the people of Massachusetts inclined to commerce, navigation and military arts. Agriculture was poorly attended to; the greater part of the inhabitants in the rural districts keeping store or tavern. They subsisted on corn, cabbage, fruit and potatoes, all of which the soil produced without much labor. They did not raise many cattle, but lived on salt pork, the pigs growing up at large in the woods. Many horses were raised, of poor breed. Men and women were well formed and of good growth, but the beauty of the latter was short as they grew old early. The men had a strong passion for drink. The women were well educated and all could write, but the men could not. The women were well dressed every day, even of the lower classes. They loved music, rode well, danced, but never worked. The men did the housework. They had a few good mechanics, especially hatters, tanners and saddlers. In their houses they were cleanly.

In Connecticut they were much more industrious. The women dressed more modestly and were good housekeepers. Agriculture flourished and the breeding of cattle was a source of wealth. The use of the weaving loom gave pleasure to the women, even those of high rank. The man of the house was proud to wear cloth that had been made on the farm.

The troops crossed the Hudson at Fishkill and continued to Charlottesville, Virginia, where they arrived in January, 1779. There their life was passed much the same as in Cambridge. Many of the prisoners deserted and many were exchanged. In 1781 the officers were separated from the privates and removed to East Windsor, Connecticut. Finally, at the conclusion of peace with Great Britain, they were allowed to depart, most of the officers having in the meantime been exchanged.

CHAPTER XXXV

The Continental Armory

GENERATIONS of artists and writers have labored to create the impression that the American Revolution was won by a handful of farmers who left their plows to rust in the fields while they rode away on the farm-horses and drove the British Army into the sea. With pencil and pen they have portrayed them in their ragged regimentals, or even coatless and shoeless. Actually, the rebellion was planned and conducted by experienced and competent military specialists, trained by the British themselves. Through the long French and Indian wars, commanders of the colonial troops operated directly under the best that Britain could offer,—Amherst, Wolfe, Townshend, Howe, Forbes, Lawrence, Abercrombie. At Louisbourg, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Montreal, Quebec and elsewhere, the Provincial volunteers fought shoulder to shoulder with British regulars. They learned to fight; to transport supplies; to subsist when in the field; to retire in order when fortune went against them, together with all the other arts of war. Washington himself received his baptism of fire under General Braddock at Monongahela in 1755, whence he conducted a masterly retreat after Braddock was killed. That a conflict with the mother country was inevitable, was very generally recognized long before the first clash, and young men hastened to fit themselves for their part in it, amongst them being Henry Knox of Boston, born in 1750 and thus twenty-five years old at the time of the Battle of Lexington. In 1771 he began business on his own account under the name of the London Book Store, opposite Williams' Court in Cornhill. In 1774 he married Lucy Flucker, daughter of Thomas Flucker, Secretary of the Province, a delightful young person with a sense of humor. On the evacuation of Boston, Secretary Flucker returned to England, but long after continued to draw his salary as a royal functionary. In a letter written in 1777, by his daughter Lucy to her husband Henry Knox, she said that "by a letter from Mrs. Tyng, we learn that papa enjoys his £300 a year as secretary of the Province. Droll, is it not?"

An artillery company, commonly known as "the train", had been organized in Boston in 1763 by Captain David Mason. Its command passed in 1768 to Lieutenant Adino Paddock, an excellent drill-master

who received instruction from the officers of a company of British artillery which, having reached Boston en route to Quebec, too late in the winter to finish the journey, remained in quarters at Castle William, Boston, until the following May.

At the age of eighteen Knox joined this company and in February, 1775, the Committee of Safety instructed Dr. Joseph Warren to ascertain how many of Paddock's men "could be depended upon to form an artillery company when the Constitutional Army of the Province should take the field, and that without loss of time". The reply to Warren's inquiry is not available but the rosters of the army of the Revolution include the names of a large majority of Paddock's men. Paddock himself remained in Boston, an active Tory, until its evacuation by the royal troops, when he sailed away with them to Halifax.

Meanwhile, an offshoot from Paddock's company was formed in 1772 by the organization of another militia troop, known as the "Boston Grenadier Corps", commanded by Captain Joseph Peirce. Knox, then twenty-two years old, was one of the founders of the new company and its second in command.

Eventually there came the Battle of Lexington, Bunker Hill and the Siege of Boston and the taking command of the army by Washington at Cambridge, who expressed admiration for the fortifications, in the construction of which Knox had an important share, though the young man remained in the volunteer service, desiring and seeking no commission. Writing to Governor Trumbull on November 2, 1775, Washington complained of the lack of trained officers for the engineer corps and said that "most of the works thrown up for the defense of the encampments had been planned by a few of the principal officers of the army, assisted by Mr. Knox". To Congress, the Commander-in-chief wrote,—"The council of officers are unanimously of the opinion that the command of the artillery should no longer continue in Colonel Gridley, and, knowing no person better qualified to supply his place, or whose appointment will give more general satisfaction, I have taken the liberty of recommending Henry Knox to the consideration of Congress".

Richard Gridley, formerly a captain in the Paddock artillery organization and a veteran of the French and Indian wars, was then, by reason of age and infirmities, incapacitated for active service. Next in rank to Gridley was David Mason, who offered to serve as lieutenant colonel of the new artillery branch if Knox might be commissioned colonel, with the result that the latter received the appointment by commission dated November 12, 1775, and David Mason was made second lieutenant colonel.

In the meantime Knox had proceeded with the expedition to secure from Ticonderoga, the siege guns so badly needed at Cambridge, and, while en route, he wrote from New York to Washington, recommending the establishment of a foundry for the casting of brass and iron cannon "where it could be expeditiously and cheaply done".

From time to time Knox repeated his recommendations and on September 27, 1776, he wrote from Head Quarters at Harlem Heights:

“The following hints for the improvement of the artillery of the United States is humbly submitted to the Committee of the honorable Congress now in camp”.

“That there be one or more capital laboratories erected at a distance from the seat of war, in which shall be prepared large quantities of ordnance stores of every species and denomination. That at the same place a sufficient number of able artificers be employed to make carriages for cannon, of all sorts and sizes, ammunition wagons, tumbrils, harness &c, &c”.

“That as contiguous as possible to this place a foundry for casting brass cannon, mortars and howitzers be established upon a large scale”.

“The following brass field pieces are wanting and as there is a considerable quantity of copper collected, it is to be wished that the founder might be employed immediately,—viz, eighteen six pounders and eighteen three pounders”.

Washington endorsed the suggestion, and from his camp above Trenton Falls, on December 20, 1776, he wrote to Congress that “the casting of cannon is a matter that ought not to be for one moment delayed and therefore I shall send Colonel Knox to put this in train, as also to have traveling carriages and shot provided,—elaboratories to be established, one in Hartford and another in York. Magazines of provisions should be laid in”. The following day, Congress “resolved, that proper magazines of provision for the army be formed in or near Pennsylvania, and that Congress approve of the Generals sending General Armstrong to fix on the most secure and convenient places for such magazines”.

Three days later, Congress resolved “that two other magazines of ammunition to that agreed to on the 21st, be formed, one in the eastern states and one in the southern states and that the delegates of the eastern states confer together, and also those of the southern states, and fix upon proper places, and report to Congress on Thursday next”.

The following week, Congress “resolved, that the committee of Congress at Philadelphia, be desired to contract with proper persons for erecting at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, a magazine sufficient to contain ten thousand stand of arms and two hundred tons of gun powder and also for erecting an elaboratory adjacent to such magazine and that the Council of Massachusetts Bay be desired to contract with proper persons for erecting in the town of Brookfield in that state, a magazine sufficient to contain ten thousand stands of arms and two hundred tons of gunpowder, and also for erecting an elaboratory adjacent to such magazine”.

In the language of the day, a magazine was a storehouse, not necessarily for powder alone, but for any class of supplies, provisions,

forage &c. An "elaboratory" was an establishment for the manufacture of munitions.

The collected papers of Lt. Col. William Smith, kept while Deputy Quartermaster General, with McDougall's Division at Valley Forge in 1777-1778, show that the familiar pictures of Revolutionary soldiers equipped with powder horn are not wholly in accordance with the facts. Actually, the troops were supplied with cartridges, some forty



Lt. Harmon House, New Marlborough

rounds to a man, which were small packages of powder, enclosed in paper or cloth. From time to time, these were all returned to headquarters, examined, and such as, on account of abrasions, were losing their contents, were "repacked". The earliest records of the "elaboratory" at Springfield are for April, 1778, the product of one week's work being 7,584 cartridges.

These were undoubtedly made in a barn in the rear of the building known as the Hitchcock house, which was on Main Street, where Emery Street now is. The property was purchased in 1774 of Moses Church by Ebenezer Stebbins who rented it to the military authorities. Colonel William Smith's papers, now in the custody of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society, show that in 1780, there was paid for rent to Ebenezer Stebbins, \$116; to Thomas Stebbins, \$300; Charles Pynchon, \$775; James Ball, \$133; Josiah Williston, \$100; and to Samuel Bliss, \$91 for one property, and \$225 for another.

Why the "Eastern Delegates" chose Brookfield it is impossible to determine. It does not appear that any of the delegates had any affiliations with the town. It is possible that it was due to the influence of Ezekiel Cheever, then Commissary of Military Stores, who though a Boston man, had numerous relatives in the town. In fact, Brookfield might well be said to be the home of the Cheevers. And the same can with equal truth be said of Joseph Eayrs, who was later Major in command of the Artillery Artificers Corps at Springfield.

It possibly was due to the suggestion or influence of Jeduthan Baldwin, Colonel of Engineers, whose home was in Brookfield, and whose advice on the question would probably have been sought. Not only was he anxious to return home, as the following excerpts from his journal show, and a command at Brookfield would have been attractive to him, but he was well qualified by ability and experience to carry on the work proposed.

Leaving aside the question of any personal influence, it would appear that Brookfield was selected because it was one of the largest towns of the vicinity,—was on the main road from Boston to Albany and New York, and was sufficiently inland to make it secure from attack from the coast.

Colonel Baldwin's comments are far from flattering to the Continental Army, but they do enlighten the situation.

"April 2.—Went to Long Island with General Heath and my Lord Sterling and others. Laid out and proposed several works there.

"July 17.—Ticonderoga. This day I wrote General Sullivan to remind him of the request I had made of a discharge from the army as I am heartily tired of this retreating, ragged, lousey, pokey army in this unhealthy country.

"July 28.—Ticonderoga. I have entire direction of all the house and ship carpenters, the smiths, armourers, rope makers, wheel and carriage makers, miners, turners, coalyers, sawyers and shingle makers which are all together 286."

From his headquarters at Morristown, Washington wrote to Congress on January 17, 1777, that, "by a late resolve of Congress, the towns of Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Brookfield in Massachusetts, are fixed upon for the proper places to erect elaboratories and lay up magazines of military stores. Upon communicating the resolve to General Knox, who will have the principal direction of these matters, he was of the opinion that Hartford in Connecticut would be on many accounts more convenient for that purpose than Brookfield, particularly in respect to buildings which are already erected and though not such as are immediately fit for the use they are intended, may be easily converted to them.

"General Knox and others whom I have consulted upon the occasion also think that Yorktown will be full as safe and more convenient than Carlisle. If these two alternations should upon a recon-

sideration, appear to you in the same light and no steps should have been taken towards carrying matters into execution, I should be glad that you would, by a new resolve, permit me to direct the work to be carried on at the places last mentioned”.

In the meantime Knox had inspected the situation at Hartford, going from there to Boston, and passing through Springfield on his journey. While delayed in Springfield he learned of the existing blast furnace and foundry, and realized that it provided the nucleus of an ideal establishment. Proceeding on to Boston, he wrote from there to Washington on February 1, 1777,—“After my letter to General Greene from Springfield of the 26th, I set out for this place in order to provide such materials as were necessary to carry on the various branches connected with the laboratory and ordnance establishment. If Congress should still adhere to Brookfield in preference to Springfield, it will delay everything for three or four months. I wrote General Greene from Springfield that it was the best place in all the four New England states for a laboratory, cannon foundry &c and I hope your excellency will order it there”.

On February 11, 1777, Washington replied to Knox,—“Congress had resolve to adhere to Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Brookfield in Massachusetts as the places for erecting laboratories. I do not think the odds between Carlisle and York anywise material and therefore the works will be built at the former place, but upon your representation of the delay that will be occasioned if Brookfield is preferred to Springfield, I desire you may proceed with the works at the latter place and I will inform Congress of the necessity of this variation from their resolve”.

On receipt of the Knox letter on February 14, 1777, Washington advised Congress that “General Knox informs me that on mature inquiry and examination he finds Springfield to be more convenient and much better calculated for an elaboratory and cannon foundry than any other part of the New England states. He adds that a quantity of copper, tin and other useful materials can be had there and that the necessary works and preparations, from these and other advantages, can be accomplished at least three or four months sooner than any where else. In consequence of his opinion, which I esteem of weight, particularly in this instance, and knowing the importance of and how essential these establishments are, I have ventured to order the works to be begun there, without regard to what had been done at Brookfield, which was of but little consequence. The former, besides the many advantages mentioned by General Knox, stands on Connecticut River and has good navigation, yet is entirely secure against any attempt of the enemy, being twenty miles above Hartford where the river is narrow and too shoal to admit vessels that can give the least annoyance. As nothing but the good of the service could have led to this measure, I trust it will be approved”.

A week later, the Board of War of Congress “agreed to report to Congress that General Washington’s establishment of an elaboratory

and cannon foundry at Springfield in Massachusetts be approved of by Congress”.

Returning to the Morristown headquarters, Knox again conferred with Washington, and from there, on April 6th, he wrote to James Bowdoin, President of the Massachusetts Council, that “when I was at Boston, I found the honorable Council had an order from the Continental Congress to erect certain works for a laboratory, magazine &c. at Brookfield in Massachusetts Bay. The same resolve was transmitted to General Washington by the Congress, then at Baltimore. The General was apprehensive that Brookfield was upon many accounts, not a proper place and therefore proposed Hartford and I was sent there by him, in order to establish the works. Upon examining the conveniences at Hartford I found them deficient and that Springfield was preferable to any place mentioned before. I therefore set the artificers at work at Springfield, in buildings that with little alteration might answer the purpose for the present and represented to Congress the reasons for my conduct which they have pleased to approve and order them to be fixed there. I do myself the honor to send you the reasons which I have transmitted to Congress. They have sent the resolve for this alteration to your honorable body. No time is to lose in preparing the materials for the buildings for the magazines, cutting timber, &c. Although the buildings will not be expensive yet they may be placed in such order as to be compact, convenient and agreeable to the eye. Colonel Dawes has given a very good plan for the whole and he would be an excellent hand to superintend the buildings”.

With the foregoing letter, Knox submitted a copy of his “reasons for Springfield being preferable to Brookfield as a proper place to have magazines, laboratories &c.”

“Springfield is a place more proper than Brookfield with respect to its being situated on Connecticut River, the great saving of transportation by water to and from any part of the continent by shifting into different bottoms. Springfield is preferable to Brookfield in point of geography with respect to Hudson River and the Northern Department. Springfield has the advantage of Brookfield in the number of streams which empty themselves in Connecticut River, on which are a number of saw mills, timber is much more readily gotten at Springfield than Brookfield by the facility with which it is transported by means of the river and much charge saved thereby. Shops, houses and stores though not very convenient, are already gotten and workmen at work in the various branches which could not be provided at Brookfield without building them which would inevitably have retarded the preparation of stores, wagons, carriages &c. for some months. Provisions and subsistence is much more cheaply provided at Springfield than Brookfield as the country is more plentiful. And when the buildings, magazines &c. shall be erected in a complete manner, the plain just above Springfield is perhaps one of the most proper spots in America on every account”.

Thus it would appear that operations at the Continental Armory in Springfield date from the spring of 1777. That the handling of powder was one of the early undertakings is shown in a letter of April 9th of that year, to Washington from Maj. Gen. William Heath at Boston. He said: I would also earnestly solicit that a quantity of that powder may be deposited in this state as there can be no dependence on that made here and all belonging to the Continent at



Armory Grounds From State Street, Springfield, 1830

this place having been sent on to Springfield, by order of General Knox in order to its being fixed in the laboratory. I shall obey your Excellency's orders with respect to paying the artificers at Springfield and the 10,000 dollars to Mr. Jarvis. But the chest will want a supply''.

At last, on April 14, 1777, two years after the Battle of Lexington, Congress unwound the red tape necessary to provide for the establishment, when it was ordered "that a resolution passed the 27th of December last for erecting a magazine and laboratory in the town of Brookfield in the state of Massachusetts, be repealed and that instead thereof, a magazine sufficient to contain 10,000 stands of arms and two hundred tons of gunpowder and a laboratory adjacent thereto, be erected in Springfield in said state''.

In the *Journal* of Jeduthan Baldwin, Colonel of Engineers is the following entry under date of August 7, 1777, at Stillwater: "Sent

off eighty barrels of powder, that is ten tons, to Albany''. Two hundred tons would therefore have been equivalent to sixteen hundred barrels.

From Boston, April 26, 1777, General Heath wrote to John Hancock, one of the Massachusetts delegates to the Continental Congress saying: "I most heartily congratulate you, Sir, on the ample and seasonal arrival of military stores. I think those lately arrived at Portsmouth should be immediately removed much farther inland, and I was taking steps to forward them towards Springfield to the Grand Laboratory, but upon sending down, the Honorable Mr. Langdon, who appeared well disposed to do everything in his power, informed me by letter that he was directed to deliver the stores to the order of the Board of War and Ordnance, and that he must therefore wait their orders''.

On that same day, General Heath advised Washington that he had "ordered the twenty-five cases of arms lately arrived here, be sent on to Springfield, as the Honorable Mr. Langdon thought himself not at liberty to deliver those at Portsmouth, but to the order of the Board of War. It is highly necessary that not only part of the cannon, but the muskets, flints, powder, tents and lead ball, the latter of which are of the proper size for the new arms should be immediately forwarded to Springfield, in order to their being conveyed to the army. A number of artificers skilled in making and repairing gun carriages &c. are come over with the cannon and would be very serviceable in the laboratory at Springfield''.

The need for storehouses was becoming imperative for quantities of muskets, cannon and clothing were arriving. On May 2d Washington advised General Heath as to disposition of the material:

"I was this morning favored with yours containing the pleasing accounts of the late arrivals at Portsmouth and Boston. That of the French ship of war, with artillery and other military stores is a most valuable one. It was my intent to have all the arms that were not immediately wanted by the Eastern States, removed to Springfield, as a much safer place than Portsmouth, and from whence it would be more convenient to draw them for the supply of such troops of the Middle States as might want them. I calculated that there would be about 3000 to spare and therefore ordered that quantity. I wrote to Mr. Langdon to send the remainder yet to Springfield, except he has positive orders to the contrary from Congress or the Board of War. And I would advise you immediately to remove all supernumerary stores from the neighborhood of Boston to Springfield, for we find, from two recent instances, that the enemy is determined to destroy our magazines wherever they are accessible, and that it is impossible for us to prevent them effectually, except apprized of their designs, if our magazines lay near the coast, or even within one day's march of it. I shall also write to Congress and press the immediate removal of the artillery and other military stores from

Portsmouth. I would also have you forward the twenty-five chests of arms lately arrived from Martinico to Springfield”.

From Morristown, Knox wrote to John Adams on May 3, 1777, that “arsenals, magazines, foundaries and laboratories have been ordered by Congress to be erected at Springfield and Carlisle; those at the former were left to the superintendence of the Council of Massachusetts Bay. A previous resolution of Congress had determined the works should be at Brookfield, but Springfield being for many reasons greatly preferable, I took the liberty of giving my opinion to His Excellency, General Washington and the Congress who have determined upon Springfield. Whether the Council of Massachusetts have received this last resolution of Congress I cannot say but am inclined to believe they have not. I wish, sir, you would be pleased to inquire into the matter and favor me with a line on the subject.

“The season is advancing fast,—the foundry for cannon ought to have been finished ere this, but for the reasons mentioned before, is not begun. I have collected at Springfield, eight or ten tons of copper, which is the principal ingredient in casting cannon and a proportionable quantity of block tin. Considerable quantities of powder and other stores are collected there, all of which is deposited in places not very proper. It is true the workmen are at work in the different branches of the ordnance department, but I submit it to you whether the buildings ought not to be immediately erected as first ordered by Congress.

“I wish to be informed what steps have been taken to get supplied with iron cannon and whether any can be had at Philadelphia for the Northern Department. Some time ago, General Schuyler applied to me for forty pieces of cannon, but have been able to secure at Boston six only of the smallest size which are now on the way to Ticonderoga”.

On May 10, Washington again wrote to Heath: “The Board of War has sent orders to the Continental agents at Boston, Portsmouth and Providence to remove all military stores, arms &c to Springfield, where they are to be subject to my directions. Upon inquiring of General Knox what quantity of the artillery lately arrived will be wanted in this quarter, he desires that the thirty-one light pieces of Swedish construction and two pieces of the heavy may be sent forward as far as Litchfield in Connecticut, where the officer who conducts them will meet his further orders. The remainder of the cannon are to be lodged at Springfield for the present. The French artificers who came over with the cannon are to go to Springfield, where they will be taken into employment. I cannot see the necessity of taking twenty men into pay, purposely to guard the magazines at Springfield. There will ever be a number of the Continental troops, under the denomination of invalids or convalescents, and some of them may be drawn together for that purpose”.

In connection with the foregoing, Washington wrote to Congress that "General Heath mentions that the military chest at the eastward is exhausted and that a supply will be wanted to defray the expenses which will arise on the removal of the military and ordnance stores to Springfield".

Knox was still unable to get the go-ahead signal, and on May 10th he wrote to Jeremiah Powell, President of the Massachusetts Council: "respecting the failure of the Honorable Board to receive the Resolution of Congress preferring Springfield to Brookfield for the erecting of certain buildings. I now do myself the honor to enclose an authenticated copy of said resolve, from the original transmitted to his Excellency, General Washington. The piece of high ground east of Springfield and in the plain, appeared to me to be an exceeding proper spot for erecting the buildings in a complete elegant manner. Colonel Dawes of Boston presented a plan to the council, which with some little alterations, would perhaps be very proper for the purposes intended. You will please to observe that Congress has determined upon a magazine to hold 4000 barrels of powder. This, in my opinion, is too much to be risked in any one building; it would be much better to have two, or even four, to hold 1000 each".

In an effort to reconcile conflicting opinions, General Heath, on May 11th wrote direct to the Board of War, repeating that "apprehending that the cannon and military stores which lately arrived at Portsmouth were in a rather hazardous situation there, and anxious to secure them, recommended to the Honorable Mr. Langdon the delivery of them to the Commissary of Artillery Stores, or that he would send them back and deposit them himself in some safe place. He acceded to the former. Inclosed is a return of what has been sent on in the course of the last week to Cambridge as the first stage. Fresh teams are engaging this day to move them on towards Springfield. I would solicit that four or six pieces of the cannon may remain in this vicinity. I hope the steps which I have taken for securing these stores will be approved by Congress. Springfield is centerical, but I do not conceive the ground to be the most defensible; would it not be well to have another magazine at Worcester or Brookfield, rather than to trust too much at one place?"

On May 13th Heath wrote Governor Trumbull of Connecticut that "General Washington having directed me to remove all super-numary stores to Springfield, I am pushing them on with all possible dispatch to that place. I have advised that the teams sent by your order should load with ordnance stores, musket ball, flints, small arms &c. and the horses move on with six pieces, the whole to Springfield. The cannon have all their apparatus complete, but there is no ammunition for them here except round shot. The fixed ammunition, tubes, port fires &c. being all at Springfield in the laboratory".

At the same time, Heath advised Washington that:

"I wrote to Governor Trumbull that I am sending the stores on to Springfield, but as General Knox wrote me that the 3000 arms

already delivered to Connecticut was their full proportion of those arrived, no more were to be delivered to that state. I therefore wrote to Colonel Cheever (Commissary of Military Stores at Springfield) not to deliver to that state, any more arms except by order of Congress, your Excellence or General Knox, and I think that to put them into the hands of the militia before the Continental army is supplied would be ill policy. I am pushing the supernumery stores to Springfield, and the necessary ammunition for the field pieces is there fixing”.

On May 27th Heath again asked Washington’s advice, saying that “as vast quantities of stores and provisions are moving back, the commissaries apply for large store houses. Shall I order such to be built as are necessary, as they inform me none can be hired? Major General Gates wrote to the Council of this State that tents and camp kettles are much wanted by the army in that department and observed that, finding a number of tents and a quantity of tin had arrived at Portsmouth from France, entreats that they would order two thousand tents and as much tin as can be spared, be sent without delay to Albany. The number of tents mentioned is double the number that arrived. I am, agreeable to your Excellency’s orders, sending them on to Springfield, which is on the route to Albany, if your Excellency should think proper to order them on to that place”.

In the meantime, an efficient company of mechanics had been brought together at Springfield. Knox had secured for his old friend and former associate in the erstwhile Paddock Artillery Company, the post of general manager with the title of Lieutenant Colonel and Director of the Board of Works. Colonel Mason assembled a force of competent mechanics who were enlisted into the army, men qualified to be superintendents being commissioned as captains. There were no strikes, no double pay. The men were a part of the army and obeyed military orders as completely as though they were fighting in the field. The payroll for May, 1777, includes 139 persons, as follows:

- 1 Director as Lieutenant of Artillery,
- 1 Chief Artificer as Major,
- 1 Clerk to the Director,
- 1 Clerk to the Chief Artificer,
- 1 Quartermaster,
- 1 Master Carpenter as Captain,
- 35 Carpenters,
- 1 Master Smith as Captain,
- 36 Artificers as Blacksmiths,
- 1 Master Wheelright as Captain,
- 14 Artificers as Wheelrights,
- 1 Master Tinman,
- 1 Assistant,
- 1 Master Painter,
- 1 Assistant,

- 1 Master Saddler as Captain,
- 1 Foreman,
- 13 Saddlers,
- 1 Master Turner,
- 2 Turners,
- 1 Master Nail Maker as Captain,
- 5 Nail Makers,
- 1 Master Armorer as Captain,
- 12 Armorsers,
- 1 Captain-Lieutenant,
- 1 Conductor,
- 4 Sergeants,
- 1 Sail Maker,
- 18 Matrosses.

The rate of pay varied from \$8.50 per month for the matrosses, to \$75 per month for the Director of the Works. The rank and file of the blacksmiths, carpenters, saddlers, wheelwrights and other mechanics received \$20 per month.

The correspondence indicates that through June there was a constant flow of materials to the magazines. As ships landed foreign goods, they were removed first to Cambridge and Watertown in lighters and boats, and then sent on as teams were available. Heath observed that "the expense of doing this is great and our treasury has for some days been entirely empty". They found "many of the French arms bad in the locks, there being many complaints of the breaking of the main springs, the cocks and in particular the breaking of the pin or screw that fixes the cock to the plate, some of those purchased by Massachusetts State being scandalously bad. Colonel Crafts reporting that of thirty-three which he proved, sixteen burst. These were supposedly made for the Guinea trade". Activity at the Springfield post became so great that all vacant buildings were utilized and there was scant space for living quarters for the workmen. It seemed imperative that some relief be had and it was decided to proceed with the action contemplated by Congress in its resolution of the previous year. Accordingly, the Massachusetts Council "ordered that Colonel Thomas Dawes be appointed a committee to purchase in the town of Springfield, a piece of ground and take a deed thereof to the State Treasurer in trust for the United States sufficient to erect a magazine upon and an elaboratory adjacent thereto, agreeable to the resolve of Congress of December 27, 1776, and that Colonel Thomas Dawes contract with some person to erect the same upon the best terms he can, agreeable to the plan herewith delivered, as soon as may be and also for erecting an elaboratory adjacent to such magazine. That Mr. Dawes have leave to contract with Mr. William Crafts as master carpenter and to give the same rations and pay as Major Eayrs and his company of carpenters now have at Springfield".

Colonel Dawes acted promptly and on July 23rd informed General Heath "that in a few days he should begin the building of a large magazine, laboratory, stores &c. at Springfield. The expense of the materials and workmen to be paid by the State and refunded by the States in general".

In the early days of the plantation at Agawam which became Springfield, a tract by the river, at the foot of the present Elm Street was reserved as a combined cemetery and training field for



Home of Thomas Blanchard, Main Street, at Wilcox, Springfield

the exercising of the train band or militia. This continued in use until 1674, when on account of crowded conditions it was thought desirable to make a change. At a town meeting on February 26, 1673-74, it was "ordered that all common land from the rear of the wood lots over the meadow, eastward to the swamp or dingle called Squaw Tree dingle and from the head of that dingle, northward to Garden Brook and from thence southward to the Bay Path and over the path, so as to range even with the head of the dingle that goes down to Goodman Mirick's wood lot. All the lands within this compass, vizt; between Squaw Tree dingle eastward and the wood lots before the town westward and between the Bay Path, and over it, southward, and Garden Brook northward, is by the town now ordered to be reserved, kept and appropriated for a training place and town common and so to remain perpetually and not otherwise at any time to be disposed of".

The head of Squaw Tree Dingle was at the Playground triangle where Magazine Street meets with St. James Avenue. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, to provide a water supply for the Armory, a dam was built across it, over the crest of which was a road which eventually became the section of Lincoln Street between Magazine and Bowdoin Streets.

Garden Brook flowed much along the course of the present Albany Street. The ravine which extended westerly to Thomas Merrick's wood lot was the one between State and High Streets, with its head at Skunk's Misery, where the High School of Commerce now is.

This tract included all of the present Armory grounds.

This was the tract approved of by General Knox and sought by Colonel Dawes, probably acting under specific instructions from Knox. At a town meeting held at Springfield on August 5, 1777, it was agreed "to take into consideration a petition presented to the selectmen by Colonel Thomas Dawes with an order of Council of July 17, 1777 and a resolve of Congress of December 27, 1776 and it was voted to choose a committee to examine the records and view the states of the land petitioned for".

On August 6, 1777, Congress ordered "that a warrant issue from the President to the Commissioner of the loan office of the state of Massachusetts Bay in favor of William Sever, Esq. president of the Council of said State for 30,000 dollars for building a magazine, laboratory and barracks in that State, for which the said council is to be accountable".

The town fathers acted promptly, and after considering the matter for four days it was "voted, that the land requested by Colonel Dawes be leased for such a number of years as the committee that may be hereafter appointed shall think proper and at such a price as they, with him, shall think reasonable. Voted also, that Captain Thomas Stebbins, Moses Church and John Hale be a committee empowered to make a sufficient lease in behalf of said town to the Treasurer of this State in trust for the United States and the proceeds arising to be paid into the treasury of said town for their use, and that the said committee acquaint Colonel Dawes with this vote".

At that time General Burgoyne's armies were sweeping southward from Canada, and once more the people of Berkshire were faced with the terrors of war. At Pittsfield, on August 17, 1777, William Williams pleaded with Ezekiel Cheever, Commissary of Military Stores at Springfield, asking that red tape be ignored for the protection of all. Williams wrote:

"As an introduction to what I have to offer I enclose you the last account we have of our northern army, in the close of which you will perceive the scarcity of powder. All that we had in store which was upwards of 100 wt. went forward last night for their supply. The dishes, plates and spoons at Bennington and many towns this side are and have been melted into ball, and I imagine that the

powder left in Pittsfield is not sufficient to make an alarm and all the lead that we had in the county went up last night and notwithstanding the orders you have received from his Excellency, General Washington, not to deliver any more arms to the militia, yet I am confident you will judge it for the good of the service upon this emergency to deliver out, and if you cannot think of a more proper person, I will be accountable if you send 100 stands, also powder, lead and flints, as much as you please, which I will endeavor to forward to whom you shall direct, at Bennington or elsewhere, taking out so much as has been taken from us. I imagine it is impossible but that you will answer my request as there is no select or committee man but what is gone forward''.

Had he but known it, the Battle of Bennington was in progress almost as Williams was penning his letter. On August 16th General Baum was mortally wounded and his force utterly defeated. More than two hundred of the Hessians were killed and seven hundred captured, the spoils of victory including one thousand stand of arms, one thousand dragoon swords and four field pieces. This was the turning point in the war, and Berkshire County bullets made from pewter dishes, plates and spoons, had their share in the achievement of that end.

On August 15, 1777, Colonel Thomas Dawes made his report to the Massachusetts Council:

“Agreeable to your orders I went to the town of Springfield and as the lands best situated for the proposed buildings belonged to the town, I waited upon the gentlemen selectmen and informed them of the business I was upon and desired they would sell me as many acres as I should want for the purpose. They accordingly called the town together and the enclosed letter, which I received yesterday, is their answer. I would further inform your Honors that it was impractical to get the materials so as to proceed with the work this season. The timber and joist cannot be got until the coming fall and winter. If the timber could be got now, the sap being up, the worms would soon take it and the buildings in a little time moulder away. The demand for boards is now so great from the workmen already there that it is with some difficulty they get supplied. The stone being near four miles off and the men most used to the quarry absent in the army or so engaged in farming that this business cannot be attended to till the coming fall and winter. I persuaded several persons to make as many bricks as they possibly could this season, who must be assisted with some money and not be liable to be called upon to go into the army. If they engage with spirit in the business, I concluded I should run no risk by engaging thus far in the brick way, as no great loss would arise if the works were carried elsewhere. I believe there will be no great difficulty in getting lime for the purpose. All the articles will be much higher than formerly and some of them at least as three to one. Having made such inquiry

as was necessary, and finding it impossible to do anything to advantage this summer, I returned and make the above report to your honors, and would beg leave to observe that if the works are to go on at Springfield the next spring, it will be necessary that contracts for the materials be made early the coming fall, and as many as are necessary got upon the spot where the buildings will be erected that there be no loss of time to the workmen, when they begin. In your orders to me you refer to 'a resolve of Congress December 17, 1776 and confine the buildings to a magazine for ten thousand stand of arms, two hundred tons of gun powder, and an elaboratory adjacent to such magazine'. Your honors will be pleased to indulge me to mention that I have been led into an error if there is not a late resolve of Congress relating to this matter and the buildings to be more extensive. But as there is a vacant space of time before the matter need be absolutely determined, as the present season is lost, the plan may be lessened or divided to more places than one, and it is very necessary that this matter be particularly attended to, explained and determined. In addition to what I before observed, I have all along understood that the plans laid before your Honors were approved by the Congress and General Washington. However, I may be mistaken. If not, your Honors will further indulge me if I say that it is very necessary to know if the plan is to be executed at one place and as extensive as I apprehend or confined to three buildings only, mentioned by your Honors, agreeable to the above resolve, for in a letter to me from General Knox, who has the ordnance affairs more immediately under his direction, being appointed for that department, he says 'the plans are approved of, only an alteration in the arrangement of them' and points out where the alteration is to be. Therefore, if only a part of this plan is to be executed, the arrangement may be very different from what it should be if the whole was executed. Not only so, but the materials are of too much consequence to be left undetermined''.

With this report, Dawes submitted a bill for:

"Drawing five sets of plans, five in a set, for a magazine, laboratory, arsenal, barracks &c. intended for Brookfield, Springfield and Carlisle, and time going to Springfield upon said business, one month
seventy-five dollars £22-10-0"

As always in times of war, there was a great shortage, not only in arms and military equipment, but also in tools, utensils and raw materials. Efforts at controlling the situation and combating inflation were attempted by the appointment of a Committee of Sequestration, empowered to buy or to seize whatever was required in a common cause and dole it out to such as could show a valid priority. Not even the Continental Works at Springfield was exempt from this requirement.

On August 18, 1777, Maj. Joseph Eayrs, Chief Artificer of the Board of Works at Springfield, was in Boston in conference with Samuel Gardner Jarvis, agent for the Board of Ordnance, as a result of which Mr. Jarvis petitioned the Massachusetts Council, reciting that "Major Joseph Eayrs, Master of the Carpenters at Springfield lately wrote requesting your petitioner to send to Springfield for the use of the Continental Army, a number of articles, among which are the following:

- Three dozen rules.
- Seven dozen handsaw files.
- Four dozen plane irons.
- Two cross-cut saws.
- Two dozen cross-cut saw files.
- Two dozen rasps.
- Two dozen nests of gimblets.
- Two dozen paring chisels.
- Three dozen firmers.
- Six grindstones.
- Four Turkey set stones.
- Three stock locks.
- Fifty pounds of glue.
- One-hundred weight of chalk.
- Two dozen compasses.
- Two dozen rag stones.
- One beck iron.
- Nine dozen files.
- Three hundred weight of brass.
- Fifty weight of copper.
- Four anvils.

"There are but few of the above articles to be had at any rate and those so extravagantly dear that he thinks it giving away the continental money, to purchase them. He finds them in the Committee of Sequestration's store and prays the honorable Council would be pleased to give him an order on the said committee for the aforesaid articles, to be sent to Springfield for the use of the Continental Works, your petitioner paying therefore".

The petition received prompt attention and on the following day the Council "recommended to the Committee of the town of Boston that it dispose of, for the purposes in said petition mentioned, such of the said articles, not exceeding the number therein enumerated, as they may have by them, at such prices as they may judge reasonable".

Activity at the Springfield establishment continued unabated and sharply increased as Burgoyne's armies continued their southerly sweep. Heavily loaded transport-wagons were ferried across the river and continued on to Great Barrington, to Kinderhook and so to the armies of the Northern Department. On the outward trip they car-

ried munitions and returned with flour, grain, butter, cheese, forage and iron rods and bars, collected by Walter Pynchon, Deputy Quartermaster General at Great Barrington. So great was the need for transportation that by the combined efforts of the wheelwrights, smiths, carpenters and painters, new wagons were built. In desperation, Colonel Mason appealed to the Massachusetts Council for twenty pieces of Russian duck for wagon covers, then in the custody of the Board of War. His petition was denied, though shortly after he was granted six pieces of the desired duck. At the same time he was permitted to draw from the sequestered stores:

Four dozen gimblets.	One thousand 14 oz. tacks.
Seven hand-saws.	Three boxes of Glass.
Twelve dozen files.	Three pairs of bellows.
Four dozen hammers.	One ink stand.
Two dozen shoe knives.	One case of knives and forks.

On November first, Colonel Mason again visited Boston, on a most desperate errand, protesting that "he had twenty-eight men belonging to the laboratory and in the Continental service who were in the greatest distress for want of breeches, and not being able to procure any out of the Continental store, prayed that the Council would grant an order on the Board of War for the same". Without the loss of a single day the Council "directed the Board of War to deliver to Lieutenant Colonel David Mason, cloth sufficient for twenty-eight pair of breeches for the use of twenty-eight men belonging to the laboratory at Springfield and in the Continental service".

Burgoyne's armies surrendered on October 17, 1777, and care was required for the immense quantities of arms and munitions. From Albany on November 8th, General Gates wrote Governor Trumbull of Connecticut: "I do not think there is any necessity to have so much artillery and small arms deposited at this Arsenal, and therefore have determined to send thirty pieces of brass cannon to Sheffield and three thousand stand of arms to Springfield, or such other towns as your Excellency shall think proper, where they may be best and most conveniently repaired". To this Trumbull replied, suggesting that "one-half of the arms which need most repair, it may be proper to send to the Arsenal at Springfield; the others which need least, may as well be done here (Lebanon, Connecticut) as at any place".

One of the captured Hessians left a word picture of the works at Springfield saying that "this place is a veritable magazine for the storage of weapons for the Americans and it also has a small, but very well built armory or arsenal. We saw here various parks of artillery with their trains and among other things, twelve entirely new four pounders of French make. The store or magazine houses are filled from top to bottom, and workmen of all trades were seen in the houses engaged in the manufacture of wagons, guns &c. I have seen here wagons which could not have been better made in England and upon which the 'R.P' was painted as neatly as the 'G.R'. Order

prevailed everywhere and an old man with a wig and an overcoat attracted my special attention by his scolding and the noise that he made. I ascertained that he was Master-General of Ordnance, and at the moment I wished that my old friend — had been there to see his colleague, look at his dress and observe the energy he displayed”.



Home Built in 1820 for Benjamin Day, 111 Maple Street, Springfield

House demolished in 1946.

This reference was, of course, to Lt.-Col. David Mason, then seventy-five years of age.

The following winter, 1777-1778, will be remembered as that when the American Army suffered the miseries of Valley Forge. As the soldiers marched to their winter quarters on that 17th of December, their path through the snow could be traced by the blood that oozed from their bare feet. On the 23rd, Washington reported to Congress that he had in camp, 2,898 men “unfit for duty because they are bare-foot and otherwise naked”. These sufferings resulted wholly from gross mismanagement and not from the poverty of the country, for a contemporary historian said, “Hogsheads of shoes, stockings and

clothing were lying at different places on the roads, perishing for want of teams" to transport them.

To bring order out of the existing chaos, the able and efficient Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene, of Rhode Island, was made Quartermaster General. But twenty-six years of age at that time, he brought boundless energy to the task and surrounded himself with even younger men. At Valley Forge, he had been associated with a young lieutenant colonel from Boston, William Smith, twenty-two years old, who had been quartermaster with McDougall's Division. At this juncture, he was made a deputy quartermaster general with orders to proceed to Springfield and put that post in order, insofar as it related to tents, blankets, clothing, shoes and similar stores together with transportation in general.

The route of transports proceeding southerly from Springfield was then through Suffield, Simsbury and Harwinton to the artillery depot at Litchfield. Thence the way led to the Hudson, crossing that river at Fishkill and continuing southerly as conditions and circumstances would permit. Even the post roads were little more than dirt roads filled with rocks and ruts. Some of the hills were appalling. The transports were heavy and cumbersome and the horses were by no means draft-animals, but merely New England farm-horses. It seems a wonder that any progress whatever could be made under such conditions.

Irked and irritated by the time consumed between Springfield and the Hudson River, Lt. Col. Udney Hay, Deputy Quartermaster General at Fishkill, repeatedly questioned the wagon conductors and became convinced that one fault lay in the crossing of the Connecticut to West Springfield, where a bottleneck existed because Gideon Leonard of West Springfield held the ferry license at that point where his peacetime equipment was insufficient to care for wartime traffic. He was, however, loath to increase his equipment for fear that peace would leave it idle on his hands. Hence Coloney Hay interested General Greene in the establishment of a Continental Ferry at Springfield, and it was so ordered, whereupon Coloney Hay wrote to Deputy Quartermaster General Smith at Springfield:

"General Greene having approved of my proposal to him of having three scows and one batteau built at your station, you will please hire men for that purpose as soon as possible and let them begin work and finish any one of them first which you think will be most essential to the public service. One scow ought to be large enough to take in two teams at a time and two of them large enough for one team. The batteau ought to be sufficient to transport four horses at a time and allow that the horses may be embarked with more ease".

Colonel Smith was delayed in reaching Springfield and taking up his new duties, but he arrived at the post the first week in June, 1778, and on June 7th he wrote to an old acquaintance, Thomas Hunstable, at Boston, that:

“There is wanted for the public service at this place, twelve boatmen that are acquainted with the business, and an overseer. If you can engage those that are able, they shall receive eight pounds lawful money monthly and be employed for one year from the time of their engaging, also a ration of provisions per day and for your trouble as an overseer, you shall receive forty dollars per month and two rations of provisions per day. I beg that you inform me if there is a prospect of your getting the men immediately, as they will be much wanted”.

Hunstable accepted the position offered and, on July 28th, a group of nine individuals acknowledged receipt of a total of £61.05.00 for labor and materials required for the building of barracks for the boatmen. Installed there were Thomas Hunstable, the overseer, five boatmen and a cook, their equipment comprising three scows, one boat, ten setting poles, eleven oars, one mast and one sail.

As in some college towns there is constant friction between town and gown, so in Springfield there were repeated bickerings and quarrels between civilians and the military personnel. Until the installation of the military ferry, there had been no incident to provide a crisis, but with this encroachment of the army on civilian rights, the resentment of the people became apparent and long-dammed up grievances overflowed. On August 31, 1778, a petition was presented to the Massachusetts Council by the Selectmen of Springfield and West Springfield by which it was most respectfully contended:

“That it is a matter of greater importance than people generally imagine that the greatest prudence and economy should be exercised in the expenditure of the public money. Profusion and extravagance of expense in private life is generally attended with a train of mischief, and if continued must end in bankruptcy. The case in that respect is the same with the body politic as with the body natural. The mischief attending profusion and want of economy in the expenditure of the public money are obvious to the most ordinary capacity,—they tend, among other things, to increase the public debt to such an enormous degree as to greatly weaken if not totally destroy that trust and confidence which the people should always entertain for the public faith and credit, and possibly may bring about a revolution in the State. Such a conduct has a natural tendency to disaffect and discourage the people in prosecuting the contest between Britain and the United States. The people see that in private life a man often loses his liberty by being involved in debt beyond his power to discharge and they apprehend the consequences to be the same to the public as to individuals under like circumstances. And when the liberties of the people are gone, what will remain to excite their emulation in the glorious contest. It is of no consequence to the people whether they are ruined by friends or foe,—whether Britain or some other power shall fix the iron yoke on their necks. If the public debt of the United States is increased it should always be from

the necessity of the case and that necessity should, commonly speaking, be apparent to the body of the people. The present earnings or future revenues of the United States should never be squandered away nor unnecessarily anticipated. It will always disgust a free people to see their treasure which is acquired by labor, industry and frugality, wantonly thrown away in schemes and projects which will not be serviceable to the public in some degree proportioned to the expense of executing them. We are naturally led to reflections of the nature from what appears daily before our eyes in the want of economy and prudence in the great part of the public works now carrying on in the town of Springfield, called the laboratory. The general profusion of the public money is attended with a double mischief, viz,—that of increasing the public debt and also raising the prices of every commodity except money. Among a variety of other instances which might be mentioned, we would beg leave to suggest to your consideration the case of the Continental Ferry lately set up at Springfield in order to convey Continental loading and passengers across the Connecticut river. There has been a ferry established here for the public for ages past, which is under the regulation of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the county of Hampshire, by whom the ferryman is licensed, his fare stated and himself, with sureties, put under bonds for the faithful discharge of his trust, and in general the ferry has been tended with diligence and despatch. But if that was not the case is there not a speedy and easy remedy by applying to the civil authority that has the inspection thereof and a constitutional redress be obtained. But we are sorry to inform your honors that a very different line of conduct has been observed by some of the officers that inspected the Public Works at Springfield. Whether they were moved thereto by some little private and personal resentments or by their desire to serve the public, we cannot pretend to say, though there are some reasons to suspect the former, but from some of the officers we have received information that General Greene has given orders that a Continental Ferry should be established here. For that purpose a number of carpenters have been procured from the state of New York or the Jerseys, at the public expense, who have been employed in building some scows for the transportation of the Continental teams &c. and some pleasure boats for the private amusement and diversion of the officers, the whole expense whereof is supposed to be £1000 or more. In addition to this, a Captain-Lieutenant and Clerk with twelve private men under them are appointed to attend this Continental Ferry, by the information we have received, so that the expense to the public for keeping it will amount to more than £3000 a year, including the pay, rations &c of the officers and men, exclusive of the boats. In addition to the above, we would further inform your honors that the river is commonly frozen over two or three months in the year, when the persons tending the ferry will be destitute of any employment for the public and the expense will be increased by the addition of housing, firewood, &c. Mr. Gideon Leonard, the person licensed to keep a ferry by the Court is also

much injured by the Continental Ferry being established on the spot where his ferry has been kept from time immemorial, by taking away his customers that have no particular connection with the Continental affairs and who, traveling to prosecute their own private business, to whose ferriage he supposes he has exclusive right, by the known laws of the land and we are informed that ferry houses are now erecting on each side of the river, to accommodate the ferry men, which will increase the public expense. We would further suggest to your Honors whether the establishing a ferry in this manner, contrary to the known law of the land is not an instance of the usurpation of the military over the civil government, which ought always to be carefully guarded against. Mr. Gideon Leonard, the present ferryman would give ample security to tend the ferry carefully and in the best manner by keeping a boat ready for passengers on each side of the river to transport the Continental loading and passengers for two hundred pounds a year or at the usual and established fare which is less than one fifteenth part of the expense of what it will cost the public at the present establishment. We have been informed that in order to prevent abuse in the several departments, the Honorable Continental Congress have authorized and impowered the executive authority in each respective State to suspend any subordinate continental officers and to send an account thereof to Congress, therefore under the present circumstances, we assure ourselves your Honors will think we are influenced by a desire to serve the public in giving this information we consider the above facts are far from the knowledge of the Honorable Congress and of your Honors. We pray your Honors consideration of the above and that a public inquiry may be made in the premises."

Wm. Pynchon, Jr.	Reuben Leonard.	Benja. Day.
Abrm. Burbank	Thos. Stebbins.	Jona. White,
Thos. Williston.	David Burt.	Phineas Chapin.
	Benja. Ely.	

This complaint made little impression on the Council and no action whatever was taken until a month later, when, on September 30th, it was "ordered that Timothy Danielson and Timothy Edwards be a committee to consider the petition and report what may be proper to be done".

Those were busy times at Springfield. James Byers was casting cannon under a contract made with Congress on September 19, 1777. Jonathan Hale and David Burt had been operating a gunpowder mill, when the establishment had blown up, but the Council granted them a warrant on the treasury for £60 enabling them to rebuild it. It was reported that the quality of the product was noticeably superior. The town was truly becoming the Arsenal of Democracy.

Colonel Smith had organized a branch of the Quartermaster's Department on an efficient basis. Written orders only were recog-

nized, duplicate receipts being required in all major transactions. The following examples illustrate the procedure which was put into effect:

“Received, Springfield, 11th September, 1778 of William Smith, D. Q. M. G. two hogsheads of clothing marked A. Measam No. 539 and 530, one box A. Measam No. 532, two boxes George Measam Esq. which I promise to deliver to George Measam Esq. D. C. C., at Fishkill, having signed duplicate receipts.

JOHN CHAPIN

Received, Litchfield, 14th September, 1778 the within mentioned packages of John Chapin, he not being able to go on to Fishkill, on account of breaking his wagon.

JAMES PERKINS, Conductor.

Received, Springfield, 4 December, 1778, of William Smith, D. Q. M. G. eleven new wagon cloths which I promise to deliver to Major General Greene, Q. M. G. at headquarters, having signed duplicate receipts. Said cloth am covering eleven loads of clothing.

NATHANIEL WINCHELL.

I hereby certify that one of the wagon covers was stolen off one load of clothing on the road from Springfield to headquarters; ten accounted for.

WM. SMITH, D.Q.M.G.

June 11, 1779. Mr. Ball,—Please to shoe the horses of Colonel Armand's regiment.

WILLIAM SMITH.

Springfield, June 16, 1779. Received one hundred and seven shoes and put on the horses belonging to Colonel Armand. (This was Teffin Charles Armand, Marguis de la Rouarie of the Third Cavalry, Pulaski Legion.)

Received Springfield, 28 September, 1780, from W. Smith, D.Q.M.G., one side saddle which I promise to deliver Nehemiah Hubbard, Esq. D.Q.M.G at Hartford, by him to be forwarded to General Parsons' lady at Redding, having signed duplicates.

GODFREY WILLISTON.

Received, September 28, 1780, Hartford, the within mentioned saddle, to be forwarded as directed.

WILLIAM CADWEL
for N. Hubbard, D.Q.M.G.”

Life in the army was by no means all work and no play. There were no Salvation Army lasses and no kettles of doughnuts. From Windsor on the Hudson, Brigade-Major James M. Hughes wrote to Colonel Smith at Springfield, on November 16, 1779:

“I arrived at Goshen the evening of the same day I left you, since which I have transported myself to this place, and as soon as I have finished my breakfast, intend to retransport myself to Goshen, God willing. Inclosed I remit you the one-hundred dollars which you were kind enough to let me have, for which you have my acknowledgments. Colonel Hughes and family desired to be remembered to you. Sally says that at the first opportunity offered, you shall have some ginger cake. I must hasten to Springfield to court that dear, bewitching girl, Nabby. By Heavens,—she is a Venus. Do be kind enough to do what I dare not. Give her a kiss and tell her it was for me.....what was I going to say? Present myself to her.....Damn it, give her my love. I shall.....this as a prelude to our correspondence.”

At a meeting of the State Council on October 16, 1778, consideration was given to the report of the committee of two which had investigated the report that “the Continental officers at Springfield are unreasonably lavishing public money of the United States in building boats and houses and establishing unnecessary guards to carry on a Continental Ferry there”. It was “therefore ordered that Timothy Danielson, Samuel Niles and Eleazer Brooks be a committee to repair to Springfield and inquire into the conduct of all Continental officers there, civil and military”. After a preliminary inquiry, the Committee, on November 25, 1778, called upon the sheriff to “summon Gideon Leonard of West Springfield, John Bryant, Benjamin Hoy, Aaron Ferry, Jonathan Gardiner, Samuel Baker, Daniel Starr, William Richardson, John Smith, James Muckleheron, Ebenezer Stebbins, Joel Day, Andrew Seigourney, Calvin Bliss, Ebenezer Withington and William Lowder, all of Springfield, to appear before the committee at the house of Mr. Zenas Parsons, innholder, on November 27, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, to give evidence relating to any matter that may come under the consideration of the Committee”.

The hearing lasted for three days and more than fifty witnesses gave evidence of a trivial and petty nature. It was alleged that Colonel Mason took home remnants of the baize used in making cartridges. That he had shoes made for himself, his wife and four daughters, of leather from the military warehouse. On account of the housing shortage, Major Joseph Eayrs, domiciled himself and his family in a house in Wilbraham which was so much in need of repair that he had the use of men from the Public Works for twenty-eight days and secured 663 feet of boards from the Continental stock. Quantities of firewood from the public wood pile were used for the heating of private homes.

The most serious charges were made in connection with the ferry. Gideon Leonard of West Springfield, owner of a public ferry operating between Springfield and West Springfield, testified that "the Continental boats frequently carried over the river, people and teams which had no connection with Continental business and received the pay therefor. He offered to transport all Continental loadings for £200. a year. The scows have been up and down the



Dwight House on Maple Street, Springfield, built by Simon Sanborn in 1836

river for loading several times. He has two boats in his own business and with one more scow and two men more than he now employs he could carry all the public and private loading without delay, extraordinary seasons excepted. The boat, Lady Washington, has been generally used for the officers to cross the river and to go up and down the river. He has known two loads of timber only brought over the river in the Lady Washington boat and does not know but there might be others. He has seen the officers frequently sporting up and down the river in her, which he supposes was the principal use of her. When the ship carpenters first came last spring to build the scows, they used the Lady Washington boat to transport their effects across the river, until it was prohibited to be used for that purpose by Major Joseph Eayrs and then Lieutenant Colonel William Smith ordered the small skiff to be built for that purpose."

Captain Thomas Bolter, captain of the Company of Carpenters testified that "he ordered the boat called Lady Washington to be built without any orders from his superior officers, for transporting timber up and down the river &c. He supposes it took two men about ten days to build her. The building of the boat was approved of by his superior officers after it came to their knowledge".

In response, the defense submitted schedules of the work performed by the ferry:

"Carried Over the River

Months.	Teams.	Horses.	Men.	
August.	459	452	733	
September.	500	590	743	
October.	472	560	899	
November.	314	615	731	
	150	100	3000	Part of the
				Convention
Total	1895	2317	6106	Troops.

To Boating sixteen team loads of salt up the river eight miles to the falls at 6s pr. mile a load	£38- 8-0
To Boating 106 barrels of flour	31-10-0
83 days work for the men at the clother's store and other places at 15s	62- 0-0
To fourteen boat loads stone, brick, shingles and boards at 120s	84- 0-0
1895 teams at 6s, 9p	639-10-0
6106 men at 6s	152-13-0
2317 horses at 1s	115-17-0
	<hr/> £1123-18-0

Springfield, 27th November, 1778.

The above is just,

THOMAS HUNSTABLE."

The hearings closed without any announcement of the findings of the committee, but more than four months later, on April 14, 1779, Congress listened to "the reading of a letter from General Washington, enclosing the proceedings of the Court Martial held by order of Congress upon the officers of the elaboratory and deputy quarter master at Springfield, whereupon it was ordered that the proceedings

of the Court Martial be returned to the Commander in Chief and that he take such order thereon as he shall judge proper". On April 18th Colonel Smith issued an order to the blacksmith to "shoe all the horses belonging to the officers of the Court Martial" and the order was endorsed,—“to three new shoes and four old shoes, Hillgrove”.

A roster dated at Springfield, August 20, 1779, is of interest in connection with the continued controversy. It is entitled:

“Return of the names of the officers and men belonging to the company of Artificers at Springfield commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel David Mason of Artillery and Director of Ordnance, who belong to the State of Massachusetts Bay together with the towns to which they severally belong.”

David Mason	Lt. Colo. Artillery	Boston.
Joseph Eayrs	Major Artificers	do
Thomas Bolter	Capt. of Carpenters	do
Richard Faxon	Capt. of Smiths	do
Edward Boylston	Capt. of Wheelwrights	do
William Hawes	Capt. of Harness Makers	do
Christopher Minot	Paymaster	do
James Frost	Master Tinman	Cambridge
Samuel Wild	Quarter Master	Boston
Benjamin Hoey	Conductor of the Laboratory	Plymouth
Samuel Bridge	Clerk to the Director	Worcester
Thomas Eayrs	Clerk to the Major	Boston
Stevens Mason	Harness maker	Plymouth
John E. Ely	Harness maker	West Springfield
William Hawes, Jr.	Harness Maker	Boston
Edward Boylston	Tinman	Charlestown
John Stearns	Blacksmith	Ashby

On December 11, 1779, Congress “resolved, that a warrant issue on the Treasurer for 200,000 dollars for the contingent expenses of the War and Ordnance Office and for the purpose of enabling Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, Commissary of Military Stores at Springfield, to build a number of houses for the Artillery Artificers at that place”. However, later objections prevailed and the resolve was rescinded.

On July 26, 1780, Congress reported that “in order to obtain the most satisfactory evidence respecting the post at Springfield, we directed Mr. Hodgdon, Deputy Commissary General of Military Stores, who is personally acquainted with it, and every officer there, to lay before us the fullest information in his power respecting it. His answer is enclosed, together with extracts from letters to him from divers officers in the department at Springfield; all which clearly evince the absolute necessity of reforming it, especially by removing those who now claim to be its principal directors. We also find that there are some improper and unnecessary officers at other

posts in this department who ought immediately to be removed. We therefore beg leave to report,"

"Resolved,—That Ezekiel Cheever Esq., and Lieutenant-Colonel David Mason, who have been employed at Springfield, in the State of Massachusetts Bay, in the department of the Commissary-General of Military stores, be excused from further service at that post. That the Board of War and Ordnance be authorized and directed to remove any unnecessary officers at that and any other post in the department of the Commissary-General of Military Stores and to arrange the affairs of the whole department in such manner as they shall deem most conducive to the public service, reporting their proceedings to Congress".

At a session of Congress on August 12, 1780, the Board of War reported "that, pursuant to a resolution of July 26, they have enquired into the state of the Department of Military Stores and upon mature deliberation, propose to retain in the service one Commissary-General of Military Stores, one Deputy Commissary-General, one Commissary at Springfield".

Two weeks later, on August 26, 1780, the Board of War reported to Congress that "the board are not satisfied of their powers under the resolution of the 26 ulto, to remove from the service all the officers who may be unnecessary in the Department of the Commissary General of Military Stores, those serving by warrant from this board,—Commissaries, Deputy-Commissaries, Conductors &c., there will be no difficulty in superseding, but there are several persons who hold commissions signed by his Excellency, the President of Congress, in Colonel Flower's regiment and who, though altogether unnecessary in our present circumstances, the board are uncertain of their authority to dismiss,—They therefore beg leave to report,—Resolved, that Major Joseph Eayrs and Captain Nathaniel Chapman, who have been employed at Springfield in the department of the Commissary-General of Military Stores, Major Charles Lukens at Carlisle and Captain-Lieutenant William E. Godfrey, at Philadelphia be excused from further service".

From the "headquarters near the Liberty Pole, Bergen County" on August 28, 1780, Washington wrote to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut that he had "seen Commissary Cheever and had an opportunity of making particular inquiry into the state of the arms at Springfield. He tells me that the repair of such of the old muskets as are worth the trouble and expense, is going on as fast as the circumstances of want of hands and want of money will admit. The greater part of the gun barrels, he says, are absolutely unfit for use, having been taken out of old stocks at various times, and not imported in their present state from Europe".

In the deranged state of affairs and the curtailed labor situation, General Knox sensed a possible opportunity to restore to the Continental pay roll, his old prewar artillery friend, Col. David Mason,

and he wrote to Washington on Mason's behalf. Washington forwarded the letter to Congress where it was referred to the Board of War, and on November 16, 1780, the War Office reported that it had "been honored by a reference from Congress of an extract of a letter from the Commander in Chief, enclosing a copy of a letter from General Knox relative to Colonel David Mason being detained in public service for the making of fuzes. The Board beg leave to observe that if Mr. Mason's abilities are indispensable in this branch he may be hired as a private citizen, and that it is not therefore necessary for him to hold his rank and appointments merely on this account. But the Commissary General of Military Stores at Philadelphia, if furnished with money and the men supplied with provisions, will undertake to provide all the fuzes necessary for the next campaign as well as all other articles in the Ordnance Department. We therefore offer to the consideration of Congress, the following resolve,—That General Washington be informed, in answer to that part of his letter of October 21, which respects Lieutenant Colonel David Mason that Congress do not consider the reasons assigned for his continuance in the public service sufficiently strong to induce an alteration of their resolution of the 26th of July on that subject".

Thus the old guard faded out of the picture. It would seem that Colonel Smith, at the age of but twenty-four, had become "the late Colonel Smith" principally through the bickerings and jealousies of a group far less able than himself, as subsequent history reveals. A reminder of his last tour of duty appears in what probably was his final touch with the service,—an order to shoe the horse of the demoted officer:

"Boston, January 1, 1781.

Mr. Frost,

Sir,—

Shoe a horse for Colonel Smith, late D.Q.M.G. at Springfield.

by order COLONEL HAIZER,
Gel Kees, A.D.Q."

Affairs at the Continental Armory continued in an unsatisfactory state and on December 29, 1780, the War Office reported that "affairs at Springfield remain in the most deranged situation. A Mr. Hiller who is strongly recommended to the board as a capable person, is appointed Commissary of Military Stores, and is intended to take charge of the business at Springfield, but his instructions are delayed on account of the report of the Board respecting the pay of the department not being acted on by Congress. The season is far advanced and the preparations so essentially necessary for the campaign are still delayed. Every day lost at this period will be regretted at the opening of the campaign and therefore it is hoped that Congress will excuse the Board for pressing a determination of the report before mentioned and also repeating their request that a sum of money, agreeable to estimate, may be furnished the Commis-

sary General of Military Stores, to enable him to proceed on the duties of his department”.

On May 29, 1781, the Board of Treasury reported to Congress “that upon the recommitment of the report of the board, dated the 17th instant, upon the accounts of the Selectmen of Springfield, they have considered the entry upon the journals of Congress dated the 11 Feby. 1779, of a letter from J. Powell, President of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, referred by Congress to the Commander in Chief, directing that the persons accused of misdemeanors be brought to Courts Martial, which entry aforesaid does not mention on what particular subject the said letter from J. Powell was written but the Board are induced to believe it goes to the present case acted upon by the Selectmen of Springfield, whereupon it was ordered that the sum of two hundred and twenty four dollars, sixty-three ninetieths and six eighths specie value, being due to certain claimants for attending a Court-martial upon the trial of Colonel Mason, Colonel Smith and Major Eayrs, as presented to the selectmen of Springfield, be passed to the credit of the State of Massachusetts and that the Board of Treasury furnish the executive of said State with a copy of this order, that the several claimants may receive payment from the said State”.

On July 12, 1871, “Congress proceeded to the election of a Commissary-General of Military Stores, and Samuel Hodgdon was elected, having been previously nominated by Mr. Howley”.

That same month “the Board of War, having considered the arrangements made and orders given at Springfield by General Cornell when at that place and fully approve of the same and in order that the said arrangements may be made complete, the Board beg leave to suggest the following resolution,—That John Bryant be continued a Captain in the laboratory and William Hawes a Captain of the Artificers at Springfield, and that all and every other officer in the laboratory or Corps of Artificers at that place be and they hereby are discharged from the service of the United States. That the Board of War be empowered to continue such of the officers in the laboratory and artificers at Springfield as the good of the service may require and to remove all and every other officer in the laboratory or corps of artificers at that place and proceed to make such further reforms as they judge may conduce to public interest”.

On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, yielding up great stores of ordnance and munitions. So confident had Congress been of that eventuality that two months previously it had ordered “that the Board of War and Ordnance be directed to take measures for vacating the contract made by order of Congress the 19th day of September, 1777, with James Byers, cannon founder, of Springfield”.

In Philadelphia, in the early morning hours in the last week of October, 1781, the night watch roused the sleeping people with the cry that it was “past three o’clock, and Cornwallis is taken”. The news spread rapidly and soon the students at Yale and Harvard were singing triumphal songs, while village greens throughout the land

were ablaze with bonfires. Parson Williams recorded in his diary that at Springfield there was "great rejoicing in town; great guns fired, bells rung, rockets played at the Court House, taverns illuminated. Rev. Mr. Breck, pastor of the First Church, and many people went into the Meeting House. He prayed; the people sang psalms and hymns".

As it became increasingly apparent that the war was in its final stages, consideration was given to the proper care of existing stocks of munitions. On April 26, 1782, Congress directed "that the Secretary of War take order for the establishment of good and sufficient magazines for the reception of the public ammunition at the following places, to wit,—at Springfield, in the State of Massachusetts; at West Point in the State of New York; at the Yellow Springs in the State of Pennsylvania and at New London in the State of Virginia".

On receipt of notice of the wishes of Congress, the town of Springfield called a meeting for August 6, 1782, to determine "if the town will lease out to the Continent or give liberty for them to build a magazine somewhere on the Training Field" and it was "voted that the selectmen be a Committee to view the place requested in the Training field to erect a magazine and it was the sense of the town that such liberty be granted and that the selectmen be a committee to lease out a piece of land therefore according to their best skill and judgment".

The powder magazine at Springfield was of brick and stood at the easterly end of the Training Field, on the ground of Squaw Tree Dingle, and near the present Magazine Street. On a stone over the doorway was the inscription,—"Erected by act of Continental Congress, 1782". In later years the magazine was deemed a menace to nearby dwellings and it was demolished in 1842. Eventually, the cap-stone became a part of the base of the iron fence, near the corner of State and Byers streets, but when the southwest gate was installed at that point in 1870, the location of the stone was altered and its present location is unknown. In 1935 it was proposed to widen Byers Street by setting back the iron fence along that highway, and Lt. Col. Thomas J. Smith, then commandant at the post, directed that when the work was undertaken, a careful examination of every rock in the foundation should be made in an effort to retrieve the lost cap-stone. Colonel Smith arranged also that other sections of the Armory grounds be searched in hopes that the stone might be found in some obscure spot. For some reason the project was never carried out, so there is still no clue to the present location of the stone.

We are indebted for our knowledge of the appearance of the powder magazine to a chance traveler, Samuel Davis of Plymouth, Massachusetts. Passing through Springfield in 1789, he tarried long enough to include in his journal, a sketch of the building, which he also briefly described:

"Parsons' tavern, Springfield, ten miles from Wilbraham. Breakfast at this place. The road hither is not unlike that from Plymouth

to Plimpton, a continued pine plain, without fence. Passed the magazine, a long brick building, remarkable for the defence before it in 1787 by General Shepard. Further on are two large public stores for arms, and a number of barracks &c. The meanest houses we have passed this stage are neatly underpinned with Connecticut stone. The magazine appeared thus as I passed it.

“Springfield is a pleasant town of some extent, on the east side of the river Connecticut. It has a handsome meeting house, painted and furnished with a clock and electrical rod, a small court-house, several well furnished shops; the hair-dressers being one of them. It is level and a continued street along the river, of great length. The river is eighty rods wide here and ten feet deep in the midst.



Sketch of Continental Powder Magazine by Samuel Davis, 1789

There are marks of great freshets on the trees, when it rises twenty feet. The ferry, on which we crossed at Springfield, is very commodious. Several ladies came over with us and their carriage entered and left without untackling”.

Washington visited Springfield in 1789 and observed that he reached the town on Wednesday, October 21st by four o'clock, and “while dinner was getting, examined the Continental stores at this place, which I found in very good order at the buildings on the hill above the town, which belong to the United States. The barracks, also public property, are fast going to destruction and in a little time will be no more, without repair. The laboratory, which seems to be a good building, is in tolerably good repair, and the powder magazine, which is of brick, seems to be in excellent order, and the powder in it very dry.”

“The distance from Hartford to Springfield is 28 miles. At the latter the river is crossed in scows set over with poles and is about eighty rods wide. Between the two places is a fall, and others above that again, notwithstanding which, much use is made of the navigation for transportation in flats of about five tons' burden. The whole road from Hartford to Springfield is level and good, except being too sandy in places and the fields inclosed with posts and rails generally, there not being much stone. There is a great equality in the people of this state. Few or no opulent men and no poor. Great similitude

in their buildings, the general fashion of which is a chimney, always of brick or stone, and door in the middle, with a staircase fronting the latter, running up by the side of the former; two flush stories, with a very good show of sash and glass windows; the size generally from thirty to fifty feet in length and from twenty to thirty in width, exclusive of a back shed, which seems to be added as the family increases. The farms, by the contiguity of the houses, are small, not averaging more than one hundred acres. They are worked chiefly by oxen, which have no other food than hay, with a horse and sometimes two, before them, both in plow and cart. In their light lands and in their sleighs they work horses, but find them much more expensive than oxen. Springfield is on the east side of Connecticut River, before you come to which, a large branch of it, called Agawam, is crossed by a bridge. It stands under the hill on the interval land and has only one meeting house''.

The journal of William Loughton Smith of Charleston, South Carolina, records that on August 25, 1790, "passing on to Springfield, I crossed the Connecticut River, which is wide here and then entered the town, which is a pretty considerable one. Here are some public stores of arms and accoutrements and cannon belonging to the United States; they are kept in very good order. I think there were 8,000 stands of arms and a large quantity of gun powder. In the rebellion in Massachusetts in 1787, Daniel Shays made an attempt on this place, but though superior in force to the Government party, was completely routed at the first shot from a piece of cannon, which killed a few of his men. I saw two stockade forts which were hastily erected for the protection of the stores and are still standing. The public stores are on an eminence just above Springfield and the adjacent country, which is highly cultivated and pleasing''.

Thus, after serving its purpose, the establishment was virtually abandoned, the unpainted buildings being left to the elements, while broken windows and missing shingles were utterly neglected. So the situation remained until 1794, when interest was revived by a proposal to renew the project as a Federal affair.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Company A

IN THE spring of 1861, Southern radicals fired on Fort Sumter and the country was thrown into four years of war. With Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers, a wave of enthusiasm swept the North, bringing quick response to the need, but as the weary days became weeks and the endless weeks grew into war-torn years, it became apparent that something more than patriotism was needed to keep the ranks complete. At one time, a bonus system was tried out which gave to a recruit a substantial sum in cash, in addition to his government pay. However, it was too often found customary for the recipient of the bounty to soon desert the army and reenlist in another town or even another state. There being in that age an utter lack of fingerprinting or such detectors, it was simply impossible to circumvent such tactics. When the draft was attempted it was with the proviso that a drafted man could supply a substitute whom he hired for the purpose. Eventually such procedure was simplified by the payment of the requisite sum to the recruiting officer who hired the substitute through known channels.

Prior to the war it was confidently expected that if conflict actually occurred, it would be of short duration. Southerners felt it quite certain that men of their out-door experience had nothing to fear from a parcel of Yankee mechanics while those of the North were equally sure that a force of effete Southerners held no terrors for them. As the second summer was drawing to a close, an uneasy feeling gripped the North. On August 30, 1862, the second Battle of Bull Run proved an even greater disaster than the earlier engagement there. Young women took an active interest in the situation and as in all wars, both before and since, halted young men on the street, demanding to know why they were not in uniform. The undergraduates of Mount Holyoke Seminary (now Mount Holyoke College) at South Hadley, formed groups whose members promised to write cheery letters to all who enlisted; a very bold measure in those days when unsophisticated young maidens were closely guarded against the machinations of worldly men.

In Western Massachusetts, the call went out for a new regiment, which came to be the 46th Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, and it was proposed that Hampden County provide one company (one hundred men) for that regiment.

In Springfield at that time, was a group of young men in their late teens or early twenties who had made little contribution to the cause. The fathers of some had provided hired substitutes, some were exempt by occupation, while others were too young for compulsory service. They were the sons of well-to-do parents, each with a good education, according to the standards of the day. They associated with the same girls and escorted and beamed the other-fellow's sister to the social affairs of the community. As each recruit actually enlisted, he was the object of keen competition in the providing of going-away parties, where the most cherished gift was the latest model Smith & Wesson revolver, complete with leather holster and belt loops. So common did these become that in after-years, a second generation could always muster a sufficient number for surreptitious target practice.

Though no feeling of superiority influenced these young men, it actually was a blue ribbon organization. They came home from the war to become the leading merchants, bankers, industrialists and executives of their day. For a half-century after the war the annual reunion of Company A at Riverside Grove was an event of great importance for which guest tickets were eagerly sought.

At that time there was in Springfield, a youth named Andrew ——— then nineteen years old, who lived on Bliss Street with his father and mother and his older brother Ben. He had graduated from high school with the class of 1860, and shortly after became an assistant to Postmaster William Stowe, in the post office, then located in the brick building still standing on Elm Street, east of the Court Square Theater Building. As a postal employee he was exempt from military service. He reported for work at the post office at 6 A. M. and when night came on he took a folding cot from a closet on which he spent the night, working through the next day and checking out at 6 P. M. The office was then taken over by an alternate who worked a similar trick. Hence the office was on three tricks a week, there being no mails on Sundays.

Andrew's letters show him to have been a sensitive and conscientious lad and while on his vacation in the late summer of 1862, some siren perhaps propounded that old question concerning a noticeable lack of Uncle Sam's uniform. With no telephones, no automobiles; not even a trolley, he had but one means of informing his friends of a momentous decision, and so wrote to little Sarah Brown on note paper, engraved with the words Post Office, Springfield, Mass.:

"September 10, 1862.

"My Dear Friend:

"Still continue to live and have my being in the Post Office though I thought ere this to be lying around loose upon the ground somewhere within the precincts of Hampden County. All signs fail in fair weather and I remain an humble citizen with peaceful intent though we are confident that we shall be in camp by the 18th inst. sure.

"We shall probably go into camp on the Old Road to Chicopee, near the Green Paint Works, where we have a friend.

"Very sorry I could not be present at your Annual Squantum but having just returned from my vacation, it was impossible for me to be absent.

"Did not dream of enlisting when I was away, but coming home and finding friends going and feeling the need of every stout arm to defend the country and though I was exempt, put my name down upon the roll of honor, resolving to defend the country which had nurtured and protected me all my life.

"T'was no more than anyone would have done and I am willing to sacrifice something to help the cause.

"In my younger days, when I read the history of the Revolution, I saw depicted the trials, suffering, bravery and manly courage of our fore-fathers. My heart burned as I became fired with ambition, eagerly wishing for such a time to come in my day when I might make my mark and show the man within me. The time has come and I have accepted the challenge of our Southern Brethern to meet them upon the field of battle. I can't do much but what little I can, that shall my country have without stint. And if I should fall on the field—but I shall not write it. I am coming home again and I hope that at the end of the nine months, the war will be ended. Should have stopped and seen you on my return trip if I had known to what I was coming.

"Work only days this week and shall probably finish Postal duties Saturday for a season and try to serve Uncle Sam in another manner.

"Hugh's regiment left for the seat of war last Sunday. Mary I see occasionally and it reminds me very much of Fiskdale and I wish that you might be here too. Sociables are minus just now.

"Excuse bad writing, the result of poor pen and haste.

"Believe me, your old friend and schoolmate,

"ANDREW."

In explanation of the foregoing letter it might be said that "the Old Road to Chicopee" is now Armory Street. The "Green Paint Works" was the concern that provided the base for the green ink used in printing the first government "greenbacks" and is now the Hampden Paint & Chemical Company, still makers of "Hampden Green" paint. It was then and still is located where Armory Street crosses the railroad. Actually, the regiment never encamped there but for its basic training it was assigned to Camp Banks, at Gunn's Pasture, south of the Wilbraham Road, in the vicinity of the present Gunn Square. The meaning of what appears to be a sly reference to a "friend" at the "Paint Works" is not apparent. In a later age, it might be assumed to refer to a bootlegger or some such clandestine operator, but those boys were entirely without guile, and such an assumption would be wholly unwarranted.

Squantum was a word then in common use in New England and referred to a picnic or some similar outing. Hugh, the mutual friend mentioned, was Hugh Donnelly, who, three weeks earlier had been commissioned captain of Company I of the 37th Massachusetts Regiment. Even at that early date, he was a seasoned veteran, having previously served with Company K, of the 138th New York Regiment.

The 46th Regiment was recruited for nine months' service and



Home Built in 1819 for John Howard, 95 Maple Street, Springfield

Company A was officered as follows: Samuel B. Spooner captain; L. A. Tifft first lieutenant; Daniel J. Marsh second lieutenant; William B. Shurtleff went as lieutenant colonel and was later made colonel of the regiment.

It was a great disappointment to that circle of intimate friends when one of their number, young Harlan Stone, was rejected for defective eyesight. His home was at the north end of the city and for a long time after the departure of the regiment, he went to his daily occupation via Water Street (now Columbus Avenue) rather than down Main Street, to avoid the raised eyebrows of his fellows. So keen was his embarrassment that it summed up almost to a minor tragedy.

From his elder brother Ben (for whom a substitute had been provided) young Andrew received a pocket-size blank book, with the written admonition to "keep a good record." That reads, in part, as follows:

"Went into Camp Banks, three miles east of Springfield, September 24, 1862. Sworn in the 25th. Left for Boston on November 5, as Co. A, 46th Regiment, Massachusetts volunteers. November 5, evening, went on board the steamship *Mississippi*, Boston harbor. The 43d regiment on board the *Merrimac* and the 45th on board the *Mississippi*; 500 of the 46th being on board the *Mississippi* and the remainder on board the *Merrimac*. Remained on board amidst a terrific storm till November 9, and then were taken off by the steamer *Nantasket*, landed at Liverpool wharf, marched to Faneuil hall, treated to a bountiful collation and furnished with sleeping quarters in the hall. Suffered greatly from the cold, storm and mud, also want of fresh air, being stowed in the hold of a vessel like Congo Niggers.

"It seemed almost like going home to get once more into comfortable quarters and the boys were in very high spirits indeed. Got breakfast at the Parker House. Bully one. Left Boston for the steamer *Mississippi* at about 2 o'clock, on board the *Nantasket*, seven companies on the *Saxon*, one and a half on the *Merrimac* and one and a half on the *Mississippi*. Co. A, on the *Mississippi*. Very well treated by Bostonians before leaving.

"Left Monday evening, the 10th, for Newbern amidst playing of the band etc.

"Tuesday the sun rose beautifully and a pleasant day was inaugurated. The water was smooth as a pond, and we sailed beautifully, though slow, in order to keep the gunboat alongside. Was not seasick on the whole passage. Nearing Hatteras we steamed away from the *Huron* and did not see her again.

"Arrived at Morehead City, Friday noon, passing the *Merrimac*, which ran aground on the bay. Got an excellent supper on the sloop. Started Saturday at 6 A. M., for Newbern and arrived safely at noon. Encamped a mile from the city. God-forsaken looking country. Niggers, pine trees and sand, chief productions. Camp on bank of Neuse river. Nice weather. Niggers everywhere and the white civilians scarce. Got an excellent dinner at Gaston house, with the others. Great country to get up a rain in short order. At 8 o'clock one of the hardest rains I ever saw. Got supper at niggers.

"Received our equipment; first rate guns of the Windsor Rifle pattern.

"27th, Thanksgiving day in old Massachusetts and in Newbern. Pleasant day, and but very little cold. Went with Frank Graves, Rob Ingraham, Bill Bush and Charles Nichols down town and took dinner at the Gaston House. Charge \$1.00. First-rate dinner, and plenty of it. Breakfast in camp of coffee and hard-tack. Supper, tea and hard-tack.

“Graves, Nichols and Ingraham were stopped in the street by provost guard, who threatened to take the officers’ buttons off their dress coats. Took them to the guard-house and finally let them off on the intercession of a lieutenant of the 46th regiment, and by their promising to cut them off when they got to camp. Made quite a joke for Thanksgiving Day. My first Thanksgiving away from my home and my relatives, but got along very well, indeed. Soldiers were allowed more freedom this day.

“Some days ago, Colonel Bowler appointed me postmaster of the regiment, which relieves me of all guard duty and other duty, except Sunday Inspection. Kingsley wanted it, but colonel gave me the appointment.

“Went to the Congregational church with J. W. Clark on Sunday, November 30. Text, ‘This is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased.’ Preacher, chaplain of one of the regiments; very good sermon.

“Company A, and K, ordered down to Newport barracks on picket duty to relieve 3d Mass., Volunteers. Stayed with the regiment at Newbern and got rations of Co. F. Visited the boys at Newport barracks, several times, having a pass over the road. December 7. Orders were read to our brigade, Colonel Lee commanding, to march in 36 hours. The great expedition left the 9th, inst. commanded by Major General Foster; first brigade, Brig.-General Wissel; second, General Amory; third, Colonel Stevenson; fourth, Colonel Lee, by the Trent road. Eight companies of our regiment were on the expedition, with three days’ rations of meat and hard-tack in haversacks, and seven days in wagons. Lieutenant Marsh went as aid to acting Brig.-General Lee. Stewart of ambulance Eldridge, orderly for Marsh—Foster, Quartermaster, Chapman, wagons.

“The regiment being gone, I went to Newport barracks to join Co. A, during their absence. Expedition returned after 11 days, having taken Kingston, Whitehall, and destroyed the railroad bridge across the Neuse at Goldsboro. Colonel Bowler returned after the battle at Kingston, being sick, also Lieutenant Knapp.

“46th lost one man. Co., B, Holyoke, and three wounded, Co., B, and Co., I, Wilbraham. Regiment did not fire off their guns but lay under fire two hours, supporting Battery B, of Belger’s, Rhode Island Battery. Boys helped themselves to plunder of all descriptions; ransacking houses, stores, plantations, etc., at Kingston. Returned very much worn out, hungry, tired and foot-sore. Blacker than when we came off the *Mississippi*.

“I returned to Newbern and stayed in the captain’s tent with quartermaster clerks. 46th is spoken well of by their brigade.

“Christmas day passed away very quiet in camp, although the streets of the city were crowded with sailors and soldiers, who evidently had renewed their acquaintance with the “whiskey glass.” Went down to the barracks and returned the same day. All quiet there. Colonel Lee’s house was hung with Christmas wreaths.

"December 29, went down to Newport barracks and returned in the afternoon. Subscribed for four copies of the *Newbern Progress*. Cost \$2.00 for one month.

"December 31, mail in from the North about 10 a.m. The old year went out pleasantly although it was rather cold.

"January 1, 1863, went down to the barracks with the mail and returned the same day. Had oysters for supper. Sent letters home.

"Another expedition on foot. Troops arriving from Suffolk, Va. Sipola's Zouaves have arrived. *Monitor* sunk off Hatteras on account of leakage. Twelve men and five officers lost and seven men and two officers of the steamer, *Rhode Island*, which was towing her and went to her relief.

"*Montauk* and *Passaic*, ironclads, lay off Beaufort. No mails going on account of expedition, the steamers being held to transfer troops. Application made to General Foster to have me work in post office by postmaster at Newbern.

"January 10, made up mail at the post office for the dispatch boat and mailed letters of my own to Springfield. Stayed at the post office all night, together with the postmaster of the 43d Massachusetts.

"Captain Cooley and Lieutenant Bailey of the 27th resigned. Captain Swift and Lieutenant Warner arrived from the North. 27th gone to Washington, N. C. General Foster refuses to detail any more men for post office.

"Went to work in the post office January 12 to mail, what time I do not need in my regimental duties. Board in city and room at post office. Saturday worked all night and until 9 a.m., Sunday.

"Tuesday worked all night on mail for North. Received box from home full of good things. Company returned from Newport Barracks, and go to the new camp off Broad street. Very pleasant camp and very much like by the boys. The expedition is safely off, bound for Port Royal, S. C. Consisted of about 20,000 men and ironclads, gunboats, steamers and schooners. General Palmer left in command of Newbern. No nine months' men went with the expedition.

"Ed Morris arrived on the *Ellen Y. Terry* from New York. Would have come on the *Decatur*, but got left, and thereby lost all his baggage.

"Thursday, the 5th of February, Lieutenant Tifft was unanimously chosen captain of Co., A and Orderly Wells first lieutenant, vice Tifft, promoted, jumping over Lieutenant Marsh. The fourth lieutenant, Colonel Shurtleff was chosen colonel, vice Bowler resigned and Captain Spooner, Major Walkley being promoted to lieutenant colonel.

"Sunday morning, made up mail for the North for the *Dutch Buck*. Nine thousand letters. Sunday night, the 8th, received a mail from Fort Monroe consisting of 12 bags and sorted it until 2 a. m., and then finished it. Rand or the postmaster not here.

"Wednesday, the 11th, H. D. Bartlett, member of Co., A, of the 46th, passed away, never more to visit this earth. He was taken sick while on guard and then after being taken to the Foster hospital,

died after a very short illness with congestive fever. Away from home, friends and kindred, he laid down his life for his country. This is the first death which has occurred in the company, and he, hitherto so fat and healthy, was suddenly taken away. No more will his friends hear his ringing laugh. He died in a southern hospital. His remains will be sent to Sunderland, the home of his father.

"Non-commissioned officers of Co., A, presented Lieutenant Wells with a sword and bugle, and others, shoulder straps.

"The 13th received a mail from Fort Monroe, six bags, which we got sorted by 11.30 p.m. Two new clerks arrived from Fort Monroe office to work here.

"The 14th sent a mail north via Fort Monroe.

"Sunday the 15th went with Justin down to the old battle field of Newbern. Spent most of the day in going over the field, forts and looking about the intrenchments. The Reb. camp showed signs of their hasty departure, knap sacks canteens, cap boxes, clothing, etc. The forts and intrenchments are very formidable, and it surprises me greatly that they were so easily driven from them. Trees are felled and lopped over in all directions, to prevent the quick approach of our forces. Trees are thickly bored by rifle balls.

"Picked up a Reb. canteen, capbox and haversack. The battle field is about four miles from the city, and we walked there and back along the breast-works, three miles or so. This was a position well chosen, but they were driven from it in a hurry by Burnside.

"This week George D. Kingsley died in Foster hospital of fever. Was sick only a short time, and he failed daily, not having the constitution to stand the sickness and the climate."

There has been preserved a letter written by this young soldier which is of interest as showing the efforts that were even then made to provide for the wellbeing of the troops. It was written to Miss Nellie Stowe, daughter of this ex-postal-clerk's superior in the Springfield office, who later married Frank R. Young, also of Springfield. The letter reads as follows:

"Hotel De Hammond,

"Beaufort, No. Carolina,

"June 7, 1863

"Friend Nellie:

"You will see by the heading of this letter that I have changed my quarters for a time and have for the last week been stopping at the Hammond Hospital, though not under the doctor's charge. Shall go to Newbern and my duties tomorrow.

"The hospital is very pleasantly situated being built directly on the water and we get a good sea breeze all the time. The convalescents of the Newbern hospital are sent here to gain strength. Originally the building was an hotel and is three stories high with verandas on each story, giving one a splendid view of the sea and of steamers inward and outward bound. Have been on the water nearly every day since my arrival, either picking up shells or sailing.

Attached to the hospital are three sail boats for the use of the patients and when we cannot sail in one of them, plenty of boats can be hired. Two days I spent upon Cape Lookout Banks, gathering shells and taking life easy. The sight of green fields and the roaring ocean took one away, in imagination, from the sands of North Carolina to the coast of Massachusetts. To come down here does one almost as much good as going to the seashore from home in summer. Am not sick now, but came here to recruit and gain strength.

"The town of Beaufort is a good specimen of all the Southern towns, the houses being far apart, streets minus walks and white sand in their place which makes it as hard walking as in a foot of dry snow.

"The other day I visited Fort Mason which is a mile and a half from here, directly opposite the hospital. It was taken from the Rebs. by Burnside and in it now are several large guns manufactured at Richmond, Virginia.

"Our friends at home would be surprised and wonderstruck to see us boys in the hovel of some Aunt Polly, sitting upon boxes and broken down chairs, trying to procure some of Auntie's cookery to fill out our government rations. All their cookery is done in a spider and that in the fireplace, but the boys devour the pie &c with as much gusto as the nicest and most delicate pastry of home manufacture.

"The 44th Massachusetts Regiment sailed from this port yesterday, bound for Boston. The 43d, 3d and 5th sail next week, which looks as though the nine months men would all arrive at home on time. There are only two more regiments before the 46th, for which thanks.

"My company, I suppose, is now at Newbern, having rejoined the regiment since I came here. Two of our boys were captured while on picket. Suppose next month will see me at good old Springfield once more, but I have formed no plans for the future, therefore don't allot on anything.

"My respects to Mr. and Mrs. Stowe and your sisters,

"I remain truly your friend

"ANDREW."

Five companies of the 46th Regiment (including Company A) contended that nine months service should date from the day of muster into service, which would call for the release of five companies on June 25, 1863. However, the War Department ruled that it should be reckoned from the day of the muster in of the last, or tenth company. This was very unsatisfactory as it lengthened the term of service of several other nine-months regiments and it was left optional with the men; to go home or remain. The 46th elected to remain and was temporarily assigned to the outer defense of Baltimore. On July 21, the entire regiment reached Springfield and was mustered out of service.

The total losses of the regiment during its term of service were 215 men (approximately twenty per cent of whom, thirty-three, died of sickness).

CHAPTER XXXVII

John Brown

IN 1846 there appeared in Springfield a tall, gangling man who was to be known in history as John Brown of Osawatomie. A contemporary portrait of him would be hardly recognizable today, as he then lacked the bushy beard made so familiar in later pictures, being clean shaven, with an aggressive chin and jaw and the ardent face of a crusader. Born in Torrington, Connecticut, May 9, 1800, he was a descendant of Peter Brown, who came in the *Mayflower* in 1620, and a grandson of Captain Brown who died while opposing the British in 1776. Peter Brown left his mother country to avoid religious persecution; Captain Brown took up arms against an unjust king, and Captain John Brown against an unjust people. The same hatred of injustice urged each one on to what he considered his duty.

In 1840-41, in partnership with Colonel Simon Perkins, he was engaged in sheep raising on quite an extensive scale in Akron, Ohio. Their flocks were of the finest, worth \$20,000. In the spring of 1846, at a convention of wool growers, Brown proposed a co-operative scheme, new at the time and comparatively unheard of, providing for a pooling of interests, enabling the growers to have their product sorted and graded in a New England city before being offered for sale. Prior to that time little thought had ever been given to grading, and no encouragement was offered for the raising of superior sheep. His suggestion was quickly adopted and, much against his wish, he was chosen as managing agent. No vision of pecuniary gain influenced him; he accepted the trust simply because he thought it might be the means of breaking up the combination of New England manufacturers and righting an organized wrong.

Hence, in June, 1846, Perkins and Brown opened business in the lofts of John L. King's old warehouse at the corner of Water Street (now Columbus Avenue) and Railroad Street, in Springfield, Perkins furnishing the capital, while Brown had complete supervision. Two cents a pound was charged for storing, grading and selling and one mill per pound additional covered such incidentals as postage and fire insurance. The firm represented growers in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York, and such was Brown's reputation for honesty and integrity that they reposed entire confidence in him.

That Brown was ever a crusader is shown in his efforts to improve the quality of the fleeces produced by his sponsors. In the April 21, 1847, issue of the *Springfield Gazette* was the following advertisement:

“TO WOOL GROWERS.

“NUMEROUS liberal minded persons, interested in the Wool business, having placed funds at our disposal for the purpose herein after mentioned, we shall on the 1st day of October next, award and pay the following premiums, viz:

“Ten Gold Medals worth Ten Dollars each for the ten entire Clips of most valuable fleeces for Clothing purposes. Ten Gold Medals worth Ten Dollars each for the ten entire Clips of most valuable fleeces for Combing or Worsted purposes.—Ten premiums of Ten Dollars each for the ten best conditioned entire Clips of Saxony Wool.—Ten premiums of same amount for the ten best conditioned entire Clips of Saxony grade Wool. Ten premiums of same amount for the ten best conditioned entire clips of Merino Wool. Ten premiums of same amount for the ten best conditioned entire clips of Merino grade Wool. Ten premiums of same amount for the ten best conditioned entire clips for Combing fleeces. All Wool Growers throughout the United States are invited to compete for them. We would again invite the attention of Wool growers to our remarks on the subject of preparing Wool for Market as published in the reports of the Wool growers meeting at Steubenville, Ohio, the 10th of Feb., 1847, also in the *Ohio Cultivator*, and other papers of the country.

“All Bales of Wool designed for our care should have the name of the owner or grower plainly written or printed on them in full, together with our address as follows, Perkins & Brown, Springfield, Mass.

“All lots of wool intended to compete for the premiums, should reach us by the 1st of August next. Growers may receive premiums if their Wool be put up and marked separately, even though the Wool come through the Merchant or other Wool dealer, (sic) Any farther contributions from Wool growers, (sic) or other public spirited persons will be expended in preparing the Medals, publishing a report and in additional premiums.—All Editors of Periodicals, friendly to Agricultural pursuits throughout the United States, are respectfully requested to publish.

“PERKINS & BROWN

“Springfield, Mass., April, 1847.”

As the business grew, larger quarters were required. Chester W. Chapin was then building a block on the east side of Main Street (then North Main Street), just south of the present railroad arch. To this Perkins & Brown removed, taking a store and a half for an office, and, as the building was then incomplete, the third floor was left out, open lofts, clear to the peaked roof.

It was at about this time that Brown began confiding his plans to Negroes in the vicinity whom he thought he could trust. Inciden-

tally, he then first met Thomas Thomas, a fugitive from the eastern shores of Maryland, to whom he offered employment as a porter at the warehouse. Thomas inquired what time he should commence work. "Seven o'clock," was the reply; "but I wish you would come earlier, as I have something to tell you." So Thomas reported about five-thirty and found Brown waiting to disclose his underground railway plans for aiding escaping slaves and assisting them on to Canada. Thomas, who is well remembered by an older generation, became one of Brown's most trusted associates and he was later sent to secure the collaboration of Madison Washington, who had engineered an uprising on the vessel *Creole*.

In 1894 a young journalist in Springfield, realizing that John Brown's intimates of that period were fast passing on, made an effort to preserve some of their recollections, which were published in *The New England Magazine*, issue of May, 1894, and record much of interest.

Brown was then remembered as a moderate, quiet, sort of man; orderly and systematic in his habits, particularly in his business. His letters were filed with the comments, "Answered," "No time to read," or "No answer required." While his account books, many of which were at that time preserved, were models of neatness. Yet, with all his system, a carelessness was very marked. Bill after bill would be paid by check, without having the bank-book written up, until he had no idea whether he had a cent or not to his credit, and from sheer necessity the book was checked up. Either from carelessness or lack of time, the character "&" was invariably used in his books and correspondence. Calm, deliberate and conscientious, an early riser and hard worker, often commencing work at three in the morning, he accomplished much in a day. Neatness was shown in his whole character and appearance. His entire suit was made of a snuff-colored cloth, out of fashion perhaps, but of stock of the finest grade. While in Springfield he was without the peculiar beard seen in the conventional portraits, having a smooth face; his bushy hair was cut about an inch long, standing straight out from all sides. He had peculiar notions, even in regard to food. He used no coffee, merely plain milk or water for drink, and he ate no cheese nor butter.

For a time Brown and his two sons, John, Jr., and Jason, boarded at Morgan & Day's American House, on the west side of Main Street, just north of the railroad. As business prospered the remainder of the family joined them. Housekeeping was commenced in the second section of the brick house owned by Henry Gray on the corner of what was then Gray's Court and Ferry Street, but now known as Gray's Avenue and Cypress Street. Soon, however, Brown's nomadic instincts asserted themselves, and after wandering about, living on Main, Vine and possibly other streets, he finally settled on Hastings Street, early in 1848. "John Brown, wool dealer, opposite Massasoit Hotel, house, Hastings street", reads the Springfield directory of 1849. Today there is no Hastings Street, but the records show that in 1846, Dexter Allis cut a street through his land between Main and

Chestnut Streets and built three houses, one on the south side and two on the north, naming it Hastings Street in honor of Waitstill Hastings. When it was later made a public street, the name was changed to Franklin.



John Brown's Home on Franklin Street, Springfield, 1936

Veranda and balcony are later additions.

Here, in the frame dwelling still standing and designated as 31 Franklin Street, lived John Brown. This was really his home. Here his daughter Ellen was born, March 20, 1848. His daughter, Annie Brown Adams, seems not to have joined the family until this period, for May 19, 1908, she recalled that "when we moved to Springfield we boarded at first at the Massasoit House; then we went to live in a new house that was situated on the south side of Franklin street,

on the west bank of the Town Brook, a small stream that had a culvert bridge the width of the street. Father rented the house and it was a good one. I cannot remember any houses between there and the foot of Armory Hill, which was in plain sight."

The house was a two-story-and-a-half frame dwelling, with a one-story addition connecting it with a small barn or woodshed in the rear, the front ornamented with a veranda carrying four fluted columns. But though the exterior was fairly good, inside everything was of the plainest,—no servants, no cloth on the table and only the bare necessities of life. On moving in Brown took a vote of the family to see if they would furnish the parlor or use the money to buy clothing for the fugitive Negroes in the colony of North Elba, New York, and it is needless to say that the decision was unanimously in favor of the Negroes.

In 1844 the dissenters and antislavery men of Trinity Church, then on Pynchon Street, built the Zion Methodist Church building on Sanford Street. The building stood there until recently, and its pulpit Bible was long used by the Quincy Street Mission. Here John Brown worshipped and of this church he was a member. Reverend Mr. Conkling of the North Church, who became estranged from his congregation on account of his abolition ideas, was a great friend of his and on that account Brown was an occasional visitor to that church as well as to the First Church.

The business continued to grow and additional lofts were taken in George Hastings' block just north of the railroad where the Hotel Charles now is. But then a cloud came up out of a clear sky and from that time on luck seems to have deserted the dreamer. About this time Gerritt Smith, the noted abolitionist, had given 100,000 acres of land in the Adirondacks for the benefit of the escaped slaves. Brown proposed to him that he and his family should take up one of these farms, teach the ignorant blacks how to build the houses and till the soil,—that in short he should be a father to them. Smith saw the necessity of some such arrangement, and gratefully accepted the offer; and the family moved to the bleak woods in the same year. Brown's motive in going was twofold. While his desire to keep the slaves was uppermost in his mind, he also wished a home for his family when he should go on his campaigns, and a place for his grave when he should be killed, as he confidently expected would be the case.

Once more his uneasy, wandering nature asserted itself, and on August 11, 1849, he sailed for Europe, ostensibly to open a market for American wool, leaving John, Jr., in charge of his business here. For two months he visited wool markets and battlefields with perfect impartiality, one day studying his campaigns and inspecting all fortifications and especially all earthwork forts which he could find, with a view of applying the knowledge thus gained to a mountain warfare in the United States, and the next astounding the foreigners with his knowledge of his business. Give him Ohio, Vermont and Saxony wool, and he could tell them in the dark, simply by his fine sense of touch. At one of these tests he was given a sample of dog's hair, the joker

asking his opinion of it as wool; but he instantly pronounced its true nature by feeling for the small hooks found on wool and noting their absence.

Next in the line of disasters came the collapse of the wool business. The New England manufacturers, wishing no such stern, uncompromising man between themselves and the growers, formed a trust against him. The lofts were packed to the roof with fine wool waiting for a higher price when, in the summer of 1849, Musgrave, of the Northampton Woolen Mills, came down and offered sixty cents a pound, the market price, for the lot of 200,000 pounds. His propositions were indignantly spurned by the old man, who considered the offer one of the machinations of a league formed to oppose honest growers. He would stop this bullying by taking his wool to London for a market. In vain did Musgrave, who was a Yorkshire man, protest not only that good wool was worth less in England, but moreover that American wool was looked upon with suspicion by the Britishers. His arguments were treated with the usual silent contempt, and Brown re-sorted his precious stock, bought new sacking and shipped it abroad. Time passed, and finally word came that it had been sold, but no price was mentioned. Later events brought out the astounding fact that it was bought by Musgrave for thirty cents a pound delivered at his mills in Northampton. There was a loss to the firm of \$60,000, exclusive of freight charges to England and return. While the loss was purely the result of Brown's obstinacy, Perkins did not censure him, but endeavored to continue the business relations, though in later years he felt the loss more keenly. With this wreck, however, Brown retired from the financial world forever and from Springfield as a citizen, retiring to his Adirondack haunts, and coming forth only as his antislavery business called him.

In the spring of 1851, directly after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, he was again in Springfield among his colored friends, whom he formed into the Springfield Branch of the United States League of Gileadites. In those dark days, even in Massachusetts, escaped slaves were taken by United States officers, and returned to their masters, under the flag of the United States. It was to urge them to resist the law, no matter by what authority it should be enforced, that Brown gave his "Words of Advice" as follows:

"WORDS OF ADVICE.

Branch of the United States League of Gileadites. Adopted
January 15, 1851, as written and recommended by
John Brown

'Union is Strength.'

"Nothing so charms the American people as personal bravery. The trial for life of one bold and to some extent successful man, for defending his rights in good earnest, would arouse more sympathy throughout the nation than the accumulated wrongs and sufferings of more than three millions of our submissive colored population. We

need not mention the Greeks struggling against the oppressive Turks, the Poles against Russia, nor the Hungarians against Austria and Russia combined, to prove this. No jury can be found in the Northern states that would convict a man for defending his rights to the last extremity. This is well understood by Southern Congressmen, who insist that the right of trial by jury should not be granted to the refugee. Colored people have more fast friends amongst the whites than they suppose, and would have ten times the number they now have were they but half as much in earnest to secure their dearest rights as they are to ape the follies and extravagance of their white neighbors, and to indulge in idle show, in ease, and in luxury. Just think of the money expended by individuals in your behalf in the past twenty years. Think of the number who have been mobbed and imprisoned on your account. Have any of you seen the Branded Hand? Do you remember the names of Lovejoy and Torrey?

“Should one of your number be arrested, you must collect together as quickly as possible, so as to outnumber your adversaries who are taking an active part against you. Let no able-bodied man appear on the ground unequipped, or with his weapons exposed to view; let that be understood beforehand. Your plans must be known only to yourself, and with the understanding that all traitors must die, whenever caught and proven to be guilty. ‘Whosoever is fearful or afraid, let him return and part early from Mount Gilead.’ (Judges, vii. chap., 3 verse; Deut. xx chap., 8 verse.) Give all cowards an opportunity to show it on condition of holding their peace. Do not delay one moment after you are ready; you will lose all your resolution if you do. Let the first blow be the signal for all to engage, and when engaged do not do your work by halves; but make clean work with your enemies, and be sure you meddle not with any others. By going about your business quietly, you will get the job disposed of before the number that an uproar would bring together can collect; and you will have the advantage of those who come out against you, for they will be wholly unprepared with either equipments or matured plans; all with them will be confusion and terror. Your enemies will be slow to attack you after you have done up the work nicely; and, if they should, they will have to encounter your white friends, as well as you, for you may safely calculate on a division of the whites, and by that means get to an honorable parley.

“Be firm, determined and cool; but let it be understood that you are not to be driven to desperation without making it an awful dear job to others as well as you. Give them to know distinctly that those who live in wooden houses should not throw fire, and that you are just as able to suffer as your white neighbors. After effecting a rescue, if you are assailed, go into the houses of your most prominent and influential white friends with your wives, and that will effectually fasten upon them the suspicion of being connected with you, and will compel them to make a common cause with you, whether they would otherwise live up to their profession or not. This would leave them no choice in the matter. Some would doubtless prove themselves true

of their own choice; others would flinch. That would be taking them at their own words. You may make a tumult in the court room where a trial is going on by burning gunpowder freely in paper packages, if you cannot think of any better way to create a momentary alarm, and might possibly give one or more of your enemies a hoist. But in such case the prisoner will need to take the hint at once and bestir himself; and so should his friends improve the opportunity for a general rush.

“A lasso might possibly be applied to a slave catcher for once with good effect. Hold on to your weapons, and never be persuaded to leave them, part with them, or have them taken away from you. Stand by one another, and by your friends, while a drop of blood remains; and be hanged, if you must, but tell no tales out of school. Make no confession.

“Union is strength. Without some well-digested arrangements nothing to any good purpose is likely to be done, let the demand be never so great. Witness the case of Hamlet and Long in New York, when there was no well-defined plan of operations or suitable preparations beforehand. The desired end may be effectually secured by the means proposed; namely, the enjoyment of our inalienable right.”

AGREEMENT.

“As citizens of the United States of America, trusting in a just and merciful God, whose spirit and all-powerful aid we humbly implore, we will ever be true to the flag of our beloved country, always acting under it. We whose names are hereunto affixed do constitute ourselves a branch of the United States League of Gileadites. We will provide ourselves at once with suitable implements, and will aid those who do not possess the means, if any such are disposed to join us. We invite every colored person whose heart is engaged in the performance of our business, whether male or female, old or young. The duty of the aged, infirm and young members of the League shall be to give constant notice to all members in case of an attack upon any of our people. We agree to have no officers except a treasurer and secretary pro tem., and after some trial of courage and talent of able-bodied members shall enable us to elect officers from those who shall have rendered the most important services. Nothing but wisdom and undaunted courage, efficiency and general good conduct, shall in any way influence us in electing our officers.”

Lovejoy, whom Brown here refers to, was an antislavery editor in Alton, Illinois, who was killed by a mob in November, 1837. Charles Turner Torrey was a native of Massachusetts, who went to Maryland to devote himself to antislavery labors, where he was tried and sentenced to imprisonment for aiding slaves to escape, and died of consumption in the state prison at Baltimore in 1846. Hamlet and Long were escaped slaves who were captured in New York and sent South under the Fugitive Slave Law.

With the fate of such predecessors staring him in the face, few men would have persevered as Brown did in such dangerous business; but physical fear was an element absolutely unknown in the make-up of the old hero.

An anecdote has recently been told which illustrates his inexhaustible resources against physical pain. It happened that the Reverend Doctor Sunderland once lectured on animal magnetism at the old Hampden Hall in Springfield, where the Five Cents Savings Bank Building now stands. After the speaker had got well into his subject and seemed to be trying to hypnotize as many of his audience as were susceptible to his dreamy, singsong manner, the quiet was suddenly broken. A man, tall, erect, with clean-shaven face, light brown hair cut short and bristling out in every direction, arose, and violently denounced the speaker as a fraud and the whole thing a humbug. He said he had paid his money to learn what there was in this new mystery, but he believed the whole thing was a sham and the man an impostor. The audience, sympathizing with Dr. Sunderland, hissed him, cried, "Put him out!" and tried to shut him up; but he said he would be heard, and he was heard. He offered to submit himself to any pain that might be inflicted on any persons in the magnetic state, and if he could not endure it as long as they, he would admit that he was in the wrong. It was finally agreed that cowhage should be rubbed into the skin of the neck and upper part of the chest. A young woman who traveled with Sunderland, and who was then in the magnetic sleep, was to try her power of endurance with him. After a somewhat prolonged rubbing, under the direction of two physicians who were in the audience, the man winced, while the girl did not move a muscle. Upon seeing this the audience cheered, and very soon the man disappeared from the stage. The girl, upon being restored to her natural condition, went into convulsions from the pain, and was again put into the hypnotic state. The hero, it was said, needed the service of a physician during the early part of the night to relieve the intense burning caused by this irritant. In a card in the morning paper he acknowledged that there must be something in animal magnetism; and signed to the communication was the name of John Brown.

Following the letter of advice given above came a constitution or set of by-laws called "resolves", as follows:

"RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED JAN. 15, 1851:

"1. Resolved, That we whose names are affixed do constitute ourselves a Branch of the United States League, under the above name.

"2. Resolved, That all business of this Branch be conducted with the utmost quiet and good order; that we individually provide ourselves with suitable implements without delay; and that we will sufficiently aid those who do not possess the means, if any such are disposed to join us.

"3. Resolved, That a committee of one or more discreet, influential men be appointed to collect the names of all colored persons

whose heart is engaged for the performance of our business, whether male or female, whether old or young.

“4. Resolved, That the appropriate part of all aged, infirm, female or youthful members of this Branch is to give instant notice to all other members of any attack upon the rights of our people, first informing all able-bodied men of this League or Branch, and next, all well-known friends of the colored people; and that this information be confined to such alone, that there may be as little excitement as possible and no noise in the so doing.

“5. Resolved, That a committee of one or more discreet persons be appointed to ascertain the condition of colored persons in regard to their conduct in any emergency.

“6. Resolved, That no other officer than a treasurer, with a president and secretary pro tem., be appointed by this Branch until after some trial of the courage and talents of able-bodied members shall enable a majority of the members to elect their officers from those who shall have rendered the most important services.

“7. Resolved, That trusting in a just and merciful God, whose spirit and all-powerful aid we humbly implore, we will most cheerfully and heartily support and obey such officers, when chosen as before; and that nothing but wisdom, undaunted courage, efficiency and general good conduct shall in any degree influence our individual votes in case of such election.

“8. Resolved, That a meeting of all members of this Branch shall be immediately called for the purpose of electing officers (to be chosen by ballot) after the first trial shall have been made of the qualification of individual members for such command, as before mentioned.

“9. Resolved, That as citizens of the United States of America we will ever be true to the flag of our beloved country, always acting under it.”

Following this come the signatures of twenty-seven Gileadites. Tradition says that there were seventeen more, making forty-four in all; but no record of them can be found, and in all probability they are lost to the world forever. Here is the list as taken from a copy of the New York *Independent* of that period, together with their occupations, as far as can be ascertained at this date:

B. C. Dowling, barber,
 John Smith, tinsmith.
 Reverdy Johnson, druggist.
 Samuel Chandler.
 J. N. Howard, sexton of South Church.
 Charles Rollins, laborer.
 Scipio Webb.
 Charles Odell.
 L. Wallace, employee of R. M. Cooley, soap and candle factory, East State Street.
 Henry Johnson, employee of David Smith, carriage builder, Park Street.

G. W. Holmes, millwright.
 C. A. Gazam.
 Eliza Green.
 Jane Fowler.
 H. J. Jones.
 Ann Johnson.
 Cyrus Thomas.
 Henry Robinson, lumber dealer.
 Henry Hector, laborer.
 John Strong, machinist.
 Wm. Burns, waiter.
 Wm. Gordon, waiter.
 Joseph Addams, barber.
 Wm. Green, jobber.
 Wm. H. Montague, hairdresser, Cooley's Hotel.
 Jane Wilks.
 James Madison, employee, Harris & Colton, woodworker, foot
 Howard Street.

These were white men and colored,—the Negroes probably being fugitive slaves, which may account for the lack of information concerning many of them. Later Brown distributed arms among the members and taught them how to use them, thus putting the League on a practical basis for fighting the slave laws.

After the Osawatomie fight, the Freesoilers sent emigrants to Kansas and Missouri, not to fight slavery by force of arms, but to cast an honest ballot against the ruffians of the country, though the nature of their errand necessarily became the primary cause of much rioting and bloodshed. The chaplain of one company afterward mentioned marching into church every Sabbath day and laying his sword on the pulpit within easy reach, not knowing at what moment he might be called upon to collect his little force to fight a band of desperadoes.

Just after the sending out of one of these bands a meeting was held in Springfield of a society of gentlemen known as "The Club," at which the subject was brought up for discussion. Hon. Reuben A. Chapman, afterward chief justice, expressed as his opinion that these settlers should not be sent out unarmed and helpless, but that the club should do their part toward arming them, and wound up by saying that for his share he would give one Sharp's rifle. These astounding words fell like a thunderclap on his audience. Judge Chapman inciting to riot and bloodshed! Judge Chapman defying the United States laws! But they soon recovered. "I will give one gun," said Dr. Buckingham. "And I, another." So the chorus went round the room till nearly every member had promised a gun. Judge Chapman's law partner, Franklin Chamberlin, rather demurred at the idea, saying that it was not right to defy the laws in that way. "In that case," quoth the judge, "I will give two guns,—one for myself and one for the credit of the firm."

So the guns were bought and collected. But then came the question of sending them so as to escape capture and confiscation. The problem was solved by sending them to the offices of the Connecticut River Railroad, where President D. L. Harris secreted them in his private office. There they were taken apart, the stocks being packed in one case, the locks in another, the barrels in a third, and so on. The cases were sent by different routes, at different times, and reached their destination in safety.

Judge Chapman never hesitated to proceed alone on a rocky trail, when he failed to secure the co-operation of his associates. At one time, when he was an officer of the Emigrant Aid Society and a United States Commissioner as well, strong pressure was brought upon him to resign the latter office that he might avoid the offensive duty of returning fugitive slaves to their masters. "I refuse to resign," was his firm reply. When an explanation of his position was asked, he said: "In the event of the pursuit of a slave to Springfield, as an officer of the Emigrant Aid Society, I would forward the fugitive to other parts. Then as United States Commissioner, I would issue a warrant for his arrest".

Springfield offered many a helping hand to Brown in his unending search for arms and money for his cause. To one of these sympathizers he wrote as follows:

"Osawatomie, Kansas Territory, 20th Feby, 1856.

"T. W. Carter, Esqr, Agent,
Massachusetts Arms Company,
Chicopee Falls, Mass.

"Dear Sir,—

"Your kind favour of the 5th Jany was received a few days since, mentioning receipt of draft and offering a further supply of arms. I would again immediately take the responsibility of ordering another lot but I am not at this moment prepared to say how I would *dare* to have them directed. The other lot I came on with myself bringing with them other arms contributed by the Friends of Freedom in Massachusetts and other parts. I cannot just now name anyone who is coming on, suitable to take charge of them. Gen. Pomeroy went east lately but I do not know where a letter would find him. I now think I shall immediately make a *further and more earnest* appeal to the lovers of Freedom in New England for the means of procuring Arms and Ammunition for the maintainance of that cause in Kansas as I think the crisis *has not yet come*. I firmly believe that the Administration intends to drive the people here to an abject submission or to fight the Government troops (now in the territory ostensibly to remove intruders from certain Indian lands). Bow in submission to the vilest tyranny or be guilty of what *will be called* treason: will I believe be the next and only alternative for the Free State of Kansas. O God, must this thing be? Must the people here shoot down the poor soldier with whom they have no quarrel? Can you

not, through your extensive acquaintance, aid me in this work if you can be satisfied that I am trustworthy? I am well known to many at Springfield. I very much want a lot of the carbines as soon as I can see any *way clear* to pay for them and then to get them through safe. Please write me the lowest terms at wholesale for just such carbines as you furnish the Government.

"I may write you further within a few days.

"Very Respectfully Your Friend,

JOHN BROWN."

From this time Springfield saw but little of John Brown. When he did stop in the city it was usually at some private home, though in a few instances it was at the Massasoit House, not under the name of Capt. John Brown but simply as Mr. Brown, as he wished to avoid publicity. Not that he feared arrest for personal reasons; but he had work to do, and wished no interference until it was completed. Possibly this was the reason why he commenced, at this time, to grow the grotesque beard which he wore in his later days.

As Brown studied his plans and campaigns, he saw that a resort to arms was unavoidable and wishing to provide a home for his family and a place for his grave if he should be killed, he moved to North Elba, New York where Gerrit Smith, had given land for the benefit of escaped slaves, and Brown proposed that he should live on one of these farms and help the fugitives. The slaves were not used to such hard labor as was needed to clear the land; the climate was hard for them and they needed some one to teach them to till the soil and be father to them. Smith saw the necessity of some such arrangement, and believing Brown to be the ideal person for such a position he gratefully accepted his offer, and the family moved to the bleak woods.

A plot of land was selected where mountain peaks towered on every hand and a one-and-a-half-story dwelling erected. Nearby is the little cemetery where sleep John Brown and his sons; where the bodies were laid to rest by Wendell Phillips, and the huge boulder,—God's grandest monument to his martyr. Shortly before his death Brown had the headstone brought from the grave of his grandfather in Connecticut so that it might be placed over his own grave; and when the bodies were buried, his name and that of his son were cut upon its face in addition to the name of Captain John Brown. Years later, some of the friends and admirers of the man visited the place, and being struck with the instability of the monument, determined upon erecting a more fitting memorial. Casting about for some design which should be not only simple but lasting, they hit upon the happy idea of cutting upon the boulder, on the side opposite the headstone, in letters covering nearly the whole face of the rock, simply the words "John Brown, 1859."

So long as the rock lasts, the inscription will last also, for the letters are cut deep enough to withstand the exposure of centuries.

Though by the world at large the man is considered a dreamer who threw away his life in a reckless way, when he might have kept it for a better use; yet to the most careful students of his character this is far from being true. He well knew that sooner or later he should fall in campaigns, and every move he made was with that idea in mind. He was far from being a dreamer. His Harper's Ferry schemes failed only from a slight miscalculation. Had he left the armory in time he could have escaped to the mountains, where the country was better known to himself and his men than any one else. Here the slaves would have flocked to his standard and a successful uprising would have been the result. But he waited too long and history tells how dearly he and his little band paid for this neglect to take advantage of opportunities offered.

Bleeding and wounded, with his sons and friends dead around him, he was at last captured and after being carried into court on a stretcher, a trial by jury was enacted and the verdict was guilty, and the sentence, death. Though he knew that he was working against the inevitable, life was dear to the man and he made a brave fight in his defense. To his old friend, Judge Chapman of Springfield, he dictated the following letter, being too weak to write it himself, though he signed it with a trembling hand:

“Charlestown, Jefferson County, Va., Oct. 21, '59

“Hon. Rufus Chapman, Springfield, Mass.

“Dear Sir: I am here imprisoned with several saber cuts in my head and bayonet stabs in my body. My object in writing to you is to obtain able and faithful counsel for myself and fellow prisoners, five in all, as we have the faith of Virginia pledged through her Governor and numerous other prominent citizens to give us a fair trial. Without we can obtain such counsel from without the slave states, neither the facts in our case can come before the world, nor can we have the benefit of such facts as might be considered mitigating in the view of others upon our trial. I have money in hand here to the amount of \$250, and personal property sufficient to pay a most liberal fee to yourself or to any suitable man who will undertake our defense. If I can have the benefit of said property, can you or some other good man come immediately on for the sake of the young men prisoners at least? My wounds are doing well. Do not send an Ultra Abolitionist.

“Very respectfully yours,

“JOHN BROWN.”

Brave and generous to the last he asked for counsel, not so much for himself as “for the sake of the young men.”

But Judge Chapman was unable to render any assistance and on November 2, 1859, the sentence of death was pronounced. On being asked by the judge if there were any reasons why this sentence should not be carried out, Brown made that short, eloquent speech which

Ralph Waldo Emerson says can be compared with only one other American speech; that of Lincoln at the dedication of the Gettysburg cemetery.

JOHN BROWN'S LAST SPEECH.

"I have, may it please the court, a few words to say.

"In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted—the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended, certainly, to have made a clean thing of this matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again, on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

"I have another objection, and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proven (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case)—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right, and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

"This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least, the New Testament. That teaches me that all things 'whatsoever I would that men should do unto me, I should do even so to them.' It teaches me further, to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.' I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done—as I have always freely admitted I have done—in behalf of his despised poor, was not wrong but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country, whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I submit; so let it be done.

"Let me say one word further.

"I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention and what was not. I never had any design against the life of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason, or excite slaves to rebel, or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

“Let me say also a word in regard to the statements made by some of those connected with me. I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me; but the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. There is not one of them but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw and never had a word of conversation with them till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated.

“Now I have done.”

In pronouncing his eulogium over the grave in the mountains, on the eighth day of December, 1859, his friend, Wendell Phillips, said:

“Who checked him at last? Not startled Virginia. Her he had conquered. In reality God said, ‘That work is done; come up higher, and baptize by your martyrdom a million hearts into holier life.’ As I stood looking at his grandfather’s gravestone, brought here from Connecticut, telling as it does of his death in the Revolution, I thought I could hear our hero-saint saying, ‘My fathers gave their sword to the oppressed; I gave my sword to the slave my fathers forgot.’ Fuller success than his heart ever dreamed of God granted him. He sleeps in the blessings of the crushed and the poor, and men believe more firmly in virtue, now that such a man has lived.”

For many years prior to the present century, an attractive, low wooden picket-fence, painted white, surrounded the entire burial plot at North Elba and added much to the beauty of the situation. Designed merely for protection against cattle and other domestic animals, it was no deterrent against the rapacious hands of souvenir hunters when the shrine became readily accessible on the advent of the automobile. Fragments were chipped from both the grave-marker and the adjacent boulder. Entire fence pickets were taken. To prevent further despoliation a high iron fence now surrounds the plot and the setting is made even more incongruous by enclosing the marker itself in an ill-designed show case. What was a thing of beauty has been made most utilitarian and quite ugly in appearance.

The brick block at Gray’s Avenue and Cypress Street, where John Brown once made his home, was the first Springfield venture in an apartment block. A photograph made in 1926 and published in the *Republican* on June 20 of that year, exhibits an utter lack of the attractive front porches and all other ornamental woodwork shown in earlier pictures. In 1932 the dilapidation was so complete that the entire building was demolished. The operation disclosed what was at once hailed as a tunnel extending from the cellar to the river, which was confidently assumed to be a link in the underground railroad of fugitive slave days. The cellar of the house was almost entirely filled in at that time, with the exception of a space at the entrance to the supposed tunnel, which had been kept open so that there could be further investigation by the Building Department of the queer, vaulted

opening that reached out to the Gray's Avenue street line. Finding no funds available for such research, that space too was filled in and the "tunnel" buried.

It was, however, the opinion of practical and experienced men that the tunnel or vault was built for the storage of potatoes or coal or some other domestic commodity rather than fugitive slaves. That belief was based partly on the shape of the vault, which was wider than would have been necessary for passage and partly on the fact that at the street line, where it ended in a brick wall, there was an entrance at the top which had formerly been a manhole, but which had been stopped with cement.

Though the streets no longer echo to the sound of his footsteps, John Brown is not forgotten in New England. His home in Torrington was destroyed by fire in 1918, but many lesser things keep memory green. The Springfield Library holds among its treasures one of the veritable pikes with which his little army so bravely defended itself at Harper's Ferry. His old office desk is also left us,—the same two-story, seven-foot affair over which he and John, Jr., used to discuss slavery by the hour in the counting room in the Chapin Block. His Bible was long used by the Quincy Street Mission.

While he sleeps, his country has adopted the principles for which he fought and died, and the world is a better place because of his having lived.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Early Physicians and Surgeons

By Garry De N. Hough, M.D.

A SURVEY of the early history of medicine in Springfield discloses many facts of interest. For example, one finds the recorded title of "Doctor" in connection with medical practice as early as 1711, although one of the authoritative reference books on medical history states that this title was not used in the American Colonies until 1769, or more than half a century later.

While much of the early information is unfortunately fragmentary, it is possible to piece together a fairly coherent picture of medical care even back to the earliest days of our civic life.

At first William Pynchon, the pioneer leader and Indian trader, must have kept some supervision of the health of the community, for we find in his earliest account book two significant entries. The first informs us that he received from Jehu Burr for his man, two shillings for "Green Ginger and Sack and Sickness." The second item shows that he received nine-pence for three pills supplied to Mr. Woodford. he received nine-pence for three pills supplied to Mr. Woodford.

After William Pynchon's departure for England, the family tradition of furnishing medical care was continued by his son, John. In his account book one frequently encounters, during the decade from 1650 to 1660, the entry "2 pills and a vomit."

William Pynchon's advice was not only sought by the people of his own community but he was consulted from other places, as is shown by the following most interesting letter. I am indebted to Mr. Harry A. Wright of Springfield for this document, which is a copy of part of a letter written by William Pynchon December 28, 1644, to Governor Edward Hopkins at Hartford, in regard to the wife of Hopkins, Ann Yale, who was insane for fifty years.

The letter:

"As for my advise about your wife my judgement in phisik is but smal. What experience I have I brought with me out of England. I have had no tyme to try any conclusions since I came hither. If it would please God to afford you the advise of such as one better experienced I should be glad, the case is so intricate. I make no question but Mr. Moxon and Gibson mite be ready to do any office of love for

her that they can, but if I undertake any by her I can direct as much in absence as if I were present with her, if you can prevail with her to stick close to rules of direction. Yet I must tell you that that hot subtel vapor which hath taken possession of her brain is hard to be removed though it may be much helped through God's blessing upon the event. I wish that she may as much as may be observe a plain thin and—(?)—diet. That will make least crudities and so less matter for those subtle vapors. Let her not use to eat milk except it be turned into thin posset drink and if she will she may soak it with sugar wherein a little saffron and—(?)—may be mixed, viz to every ounce of sugar, good 3 grains of saffron made into fine powder and a little scraped hartshorn—(?)—and she may use of this eather in posset drink or in warmed bere. By the use of this and other attenuating drink her body will be brought to a sweating temper, which I conceive will be a good help to nature, and a good help to the operation of other phisik.

“And for phisik, I shall cheafly advise to the compleat rest of pills if she will be perswaded to take them orderly and lastly, by gentle nosing in the spring of the year, and in short tyme will open the brain and give some refreshment, provided it be done by gentle means. But nosing tobacco powder and the like are too violent. But if lettuce leaves could be had, nothing is so good as that.

“As for the pills, she may begin with them at the beginning of March next.”

The reference in this letter to Mr. Moxon and his readiness to “do any office of love” indicates that in common with the custom in other New England settlements, the clergy undertook medical care when called upon. The Rev. George Moxon was Springfield's first minister, coming here from Boston in the fall of 1637. He was a graduate of Sidney College, Cambridge, in 1623, and it was entirely probable that he studied some medicine with his divinity, since this was common practice at that time.

At his arrival in Springfield he was short, stout and thirty-five years of age. The citizens built him a house in 1639, and he remained here as pastor until 1652. We have no direct documentary evidence of his medical activity but we are probably justified in assuming that he was called upon to render such “office of love” in many instances. We may trust that his grave might have properly carried the epitaph of a latter clergyman:

“Blessed with good intellectual parts,
Well skilled in two important arts
Nobly he fill'd the double station,
Both of preacher and physician;
And strove to make his patients whole
Throughout;—body and in soul.”

Nine years after the departure of Mr. Moxon, the Rev. Pelatiah Glover was called to Springfield, in September, 1661, and succeeded him as spiritual and physical adviser of the village. He is reputed to have been a man of great energy, studious application and tenacity of purpose.

The county records of September, 1685, contain one direct reference to the Reverend Pelatiah's medical activities, as follows:

"It being evident that diverse charges are to be satisfied by ye Rober Mark Gregory, viz 30 shillings to Mr. Pelatiah Glover for the curing of his wounded heade and 2£ 12 s to Fearenot King for sundry things stolen out of his house, this Courte have adjudged sayd Robber Mark Gregory to be sold for 12£."

This single record is supporting evidence of the assumption that in common with the practice of the period, the minister in Springfield cared for both souls and bodies.

Further, Pelatiah Glover was the son of John Glover of Dorchester, who received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the University of Aberdeen in 1650, and was a prominent figure in this community, a Deputy to the General Court, and Assistant to the Governor. He was one of the few holders of a medical degree in early New England, and probably taught his son the limited medical knowledge of the period.

In 1640 Springfield's first births were recorded and from eight years after the founding of the settlement, there were about fifteen births each year during the city's first twenty years. We do not know what sort of reception these infants had into their difficult environment, but it is not surprising that approximately one out of every five died in early childhood.

Practically two-thirds of the seventy-nine deaths which occurred in Springfield's first quarter-century were among children. The young certainly had a hard time and only those with a fairly rugged constitution, apparently, could stand the strain.

With this situation in mind the following letter to John Winthrop is of tremendous interest:

"Honored Sr.

"When I was at Hartford I was at yr house desiring to speake with your Worship about my lame boy, and to have had your advice and help. But you were from home when I brought him to your house and when I cam ye 2nd time you were also from home and so I was prevented of your advice and help which I much desired and there uppon I caryed him to Goodwife Watts and left him with her. Now my humble request to your Worship is that you would please to see him and afford your help and advice and if you se it needful that he should be purged or take any Phisick that you would give him what phisick you judge needful and I shall account it a greate

favour and be ready to give you full satisfaction and content. Intreating your pardon for my boldness I humbly take leave and subscribe

“Your Worships servant
“MILES MORGAN.”

The worthy Miles Morgan, in whose memory a statute now stands in Court Square, lacked, however, an ability which now nearly every one possesses. We know that he was unable to write, and the foregoing letter is in the handwriting of John Pynchon. At the bottom of the letter we find the admonition,—“Verte”,—and on the reverse we find the following:

“May 23, 1661.

“Sr:

“here is a dutchman came from Fort Aurania (*i. e.* Albany) in Febr Last who hath continued in Northampton ever since till about a weeke agoe he came to Sp. Towne. he pretends skill in chirrurgery and indeed had done some cures at Northampton as very credible persons doe affirm and since he came hither hath done some things whereby it appeares he hath some skill but how far it would reach know not he hath taken Goodman Dorchesters legg in hand and thinks to cure it. And he says he speaks very confidently thus far that he can bring her legg to rights and straite. And he offers to cure her for 60 and yet withal says he will have nothing for his paines if he do not make a perfect cure that shall be so judged by any able chirrurgeons My selfe and wife are fearful of meddling with him being a stranger least he may do her hurt and therefore though he hath ben these 8 days here and I have entertained him at my house yet we have not hithertoe imployed him. But we have thoughts of trying him he seemes to be a sober man, and says he will use noe launching nor noe violent meanes, but bathings rubbings and chafing ye sinews—and that he intends to follow 2 or 3 nights I thought at first he might be needy of mony and his aime might be to get some money but he says I shall not pay him one Penney till I se it be a cure and se her go without crutches or stick.

“If his indeavor should effect such a cure I should wonder at it and have cause to magnifie ye goodness of God to us in so ordering it for us which we deserve not.

“with mine and my wifes Loving respects to your selfe and Mistress Winthrop.

“I am Sr, your assured friend and servant

“JOHN PYNCHON”

This most fascinating letter, which was obtained through the historical research of Mr. Harry A. Wright, has particular significance to us of the present day in view of the position which Springfield has taken in meeting the problem of crippled children throughout New



(Photo courtesy The Holyoke Public Library)

Holyoke — Northampton Street Showing Fairfield Avenue and Lincoln Street, 1884

England. This document is not only the earliest recorded visit of a surgeon to Springfield, "The Dutchman from Albany"; it is not only a record of early utilization of massage and manipulation; but it is also a testimonial that in our earliest days the problem of the crippled child was present and important, in spite of the high death rate among the children.

It is of interest to know that John Pynchon's lame daughter Mary grew up and married Joseph Whiting, a man of fortune and position.

Inasmuch as at that period a wife had to be a housewife and a homemaker, it is unreasonable to suppose that he would marry a cripple, in spite of the attractiveness of an alliance with the daughter of a wealthy Pynchon. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the "Dutchman from Fort Aurania (Albany) effected a cure" or that "the Goodness of God acted in some other way in so ordering it."

It is not so easy to identify the afflicted son of Miles Morgan, who had four sons living at the time of the letter quoted above. However, as three of the four married and established homes, and the fourth was killed while Indian scouting at the age of twenty-six years, it would appear that whichever son it was, here again the Dutchman effected at least a reasonably good functional result.

Another early record of medical care in Springfield is found in the County Court records of 1671. In a trial to settle a land claim dispute between Lt. Thomas Cooper and an Indian, the testimony records that during the previous summer said Lieutenant Cooper had treated the Indian for broken bones. There is another reference to Cooper's bone-setting ability, and from his other abilities as auditor, attorney, officer of the law, soldier, farmer, carpenter, and surveyor we may assume that he was a worthy precursor of the natural bone-setters who were famous in later New England medical history.

In fact there is evidence leading one to believe that Dr. Lambert Cooper and Dr. Timothy Cooper who practiced in Springfield in the next century were lineal descendants of Lt. Thomas Cooper.

This was the same Lieutenant Cooper whose dramatic death gave warning of the Indian attack on the village on October 5, 1675.

Instigated by the successors of King Philip, whose campaign was then at its height, the previously friendly Agawam Indians under the leadership of Wequogan were about to attack Springfield. The village was practically defenseless as nearly all the fighting men were engaged in the campaign to the north about Hadley, Deerfield, and Northfield. Lieutenant Cooper, who had a wide acquaintance among the Indians, could not believe the news of an impending attack, and mounting his horse he hastened to the Indian camp. He was met at the edge of the woods by a volley of shot, his horse turned, galloped home, and on coming to a stop in front of the garrisoned Pynchon house, Cooper's dead body fell to the ground. As a result of the warning most of the lives of the inhabitants were saved, but the village was plundered and burned.

The next fragment of medical record which we can find concerns the first public charitable bequest in Springfield. While the total

amount of the bequest was not large it is an interesting fact that had it been allowed to accumulate at compound interest, the income now would be sufficient to take care of our entire Community Chest campaign annually.

In 1711 a traveling Frenchman, John Maillefuld by name, and an itinerant peddler by occupation, "sickened and died" in Springfield. In return for the care and kindness shown him in his last illness Maillefuld directed that his entire estate be used for the poor of Springfield. This was our first public charitable bequest. The careful inventory of his estate makes very interesting reading, particularly the books he had for sale, one of which was entitled *Sighs From Hell*. We do not know of what the Frenchman died, but there is a record that Dr. John Sherman was paid one shilling six-pence for the care of John Maillefuld.

This Dr. John Sherman came to Springfield in 1709, as the schoolmaster for the Longmeadow district at an annual salary of £40.

Further, in 1717, £2 2s, 4d was granted at town meeting to Doctor Sherman for what he did to Thomas Crowfoot. It would indeed be interesting to know what he did do to Thomas.

Concerning Springfield's first really medically trained physician, we actually know very little more than his gravestone in the Agawam Village Cemetery tells us. This bears the inscription:

"In Memory of
John Leonard, M. D.
Who died Nov. 28, 1744
in the 69th year of his age
He sought after Wisdom and found her,
Dwelling with Honesty."

While much might be surmised concerning the type of man for whom such an epitaph would be written, this enters the realm of speculation. Our actual knowledge is limited to the following facts. He was a lineal descendant of the early settler, John Leonard, who was killed by the Indians. He was born in 1676. In 1728 the town voted him twelve shillings for his attendance on Sarah Stevenson, and in 1738 his name is included among the taxpayers located on the West Side. I have been unable to ascertain how, or when, or where he obtained his medical degree.

Another physician of this period was Dr. Joseph Pyncheon, who was born in 1705. He was the son of Colonel John, and great-grandson of Major John. He graduated from Harvard in 1726, and studied both divinity and medicine. He both preached and practiced but eventually gave up the former and devoted himself to the practice of medicine. He located in Longmeadow, and was listed there in the tax list of 1738. The *Records of the Pyncheon Family* by Dr. Joseph C. Pyncheon (1885), states however that he came to Longmeadow on October 13, 1748. He undoubtedly upheld the honor of the family name, and served at one time as Representative to the General Court.

He subsequently removed to Boston. His younger half-brother Dr. Charles Pynchon, was one of the outstanding figures of the next medical generation.

The Revolutionary period, with its postwar depression, was an exciting and difficult time in Springfield, which in combination with West Springfield has a population of 5,244 in 1790.

When the "embattled farmers fired the shot heard round the world," April 19, 1775, the sound reached Springfield and vicinity promptly on April twentieth, a local troop left for the eastern part of the state. On the same day, a company from Suffield passed through Springfield, and on the following day a company left from Longmeadow.

Following the excitement of the moving troops and the fighting, came the inevitable discord and economic distress. Violence was approached in 1782 when an armed mob rescued Reverend Mr. Ely of Somers, from the Springfield jail where he had been committed after interference with the Court of Northampton. Actual bloodshed however did not occur until the culmination of Shays' Rebellion in 1786.

The doctors of Springfield, of whom we have been able to find record, in addition to those previously mentioned were: Edward Chapin, Timothy Cooper, Joshua Day, John Dickinson, Timothy Horton, Joel Marble, Charles Pynchon, John Van Horn, Dr. Whitney, and Chauncey Brewer.

We would like to know much more about these men than we actually do, particularly in regard to their medical education. Packard, in his *History of Medicine of the United States*, tells us that at the onset of the Revolution there were about 3,500 doctors in the colonies, of whom not more than four hundred had medical degrees. It is also known that of the sixty-three Americans who graduated in medicine at the University of Edinburgh from 1758 to 1788, only one came from New England. Yale had two medical graduates in 1793, John A. Graham and Winthrop Saltonstall, but Welch estimated that there were two hundred twenty-four Yale graduates practicing medicine in the eighteenth century. The medical school, as such, was not organized until 1810, twenty-eight years later than that of Harvard.

Of Edward Chapin, I know nothing except that he was Selectman in 1780.

Timothy Cooper, probably another descendant of Lieutenant Thomas and Lieutenant Lamber, M.D., is buried here and his gravestone records that he died Jan. 21, 1782. He is also listed "among the doctors" in 1761 in Green's *History of Springfield*.

In the Feeding Hills Cemetery there stands a stone inscribed:

In Memory of
Dr. Joshua Day
Who died Oct. 26th
1815
Aged 40 years

He was, therefore, one of the young medical men of this period, extending into the next.

John Dickinson was summoned from Middletown, Connecticut, for the purpose of building and operating a "pest house" for smallpox. He apparently did not stay in Springfield very long, but it is interesting that he was compelled to collect his bill from the town for over one hundred pounds by due process of law.

Timothy Horton, again, is known only by his grave which shows the date of his death as October 3, 1795.

Joel Marble, like many of his eminent contemporaries, ran a drug store, which in 1783 was one door south of the Court House. One counter was devoted to books and sundries. Payments for purchases were made in wheat, corn, rye, and beeswax. In 1784 he was elected Town Constable but declined to serve. He bought the southwest corner of Main and Court streets, subsequently occupied by the Chicopee National Bank, from Moses Bliss soon after the Revolution. He met an untimely end by drowning himself in a well back of Parson's Tavern while insane. His property was purchased by a Dr. Dix of Worcester.

The sole reference which I can find to Dr. Whitney is that he was taken prisoner by Luke Day and his forces in 1786 during the active warfare of Shays' Rebellion.

Dr. John Van Horn was born June 8, 1726, and graduated from Yale College in 1749. He died in 1895, aged seventy-nine years. He became a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1785. It is recorded that he enjoyed a good reputation not only as a physician, but also as a literary man and a good citizen.

Apparently the most prominent physician of this period was the representative of Springfield's original first family, Dr. Charles Pynchon, under whom he probably studied.

He was born January 31, 1719, and was the fifth generation of Springfield Pynchons. According to the *Records of the Pynchon Family* he was a thoroughly educated physician and surgeon. In the case of his brother and great-uncle this meant graduating from Harvard, but in the case of Dr. Charles the source of his training is not mentioned.

In 1745, at the age of twenty-six years, and again ten years later, he served as an army surgeon in the French and Indian Wars. He served with Col. Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams College, with whom he formed a close and intimate friendship.

Dr. Pynchon must have advocated the practice of inoculation for smallpox which was introduced into this country by Zabdiel Boylston of Boston in 1721, for in 1758 the town meeting voted to direct the selectmen to desire him to cease this practice. He was prominent in political activity before the Revolution, being Selectman in 1773; one of the nine members of the Committee of Revolution Resolution at the Town Meeting of July 12, 1774; one of the three delegates to the County Congress of September 20, 1774; and one of the five members

of the Committee of Correspondence. He was also a Representative to the General Court.

Dr. Pyncheon was the only Springfield physician, so far as I can find who took active medical part in the Revolutionary War. He served as Surgeon under General Gates in 1777. He could not have continued in active service for a very long period, however, for we have some interesting evidence from the records of the investigation of the Springfield Armory in 1778. This investigation was for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of rumored misappropriation and misuse of



Farren Memorial Hospital, Turners Falls

funds. Among the formal reports may be found one called:—"An Accompt of Sundry Tinn Ware Made and Delivered to Sundry Officers in This Department by Col. Mason's Orders at Sundry times." In this report is this item,—“Jany the 15—Delivered to Doctr. Pinchon for the Hospital—

1 Saspan	1½ Doz. Porrengars
2 Coffe Pots	1 Close stool Pann”
1 funell for Rum	

We thus know that there was a hospital in Springfield in 1778.

Dr. Pyncheon lived on the south side of what is now Cypress Street, then called Ferry Lane. He owned an office and drug store on the southeast corner of Main and Cypress streets. For the last two years of his life he lived in the Colton Place on State Street, which he secured after a law suit with Mr. Colton. He died August 17, or 19, 1783, aged sixty-four years.

Second only to Dr. Charles Pynchon, under whom he studied medicine, was Dr. Chauncey Brewer, the son of Nathaniel Brewer, a stone-cutter, and grandson of Rev. Daniel Brewer, the third real minister of Springfield. Dr. Brewer was born in 1743, and graduated from Yale in 1762. After his period of study with Dr. Pynchon he began his practice in West Springfield. He soon moved to the east side of the river, and for many years lived on the south side of Ferry Lane (now Cypress Street). He also had a wooden building on Main Street in which many years later his grandsons, Henry and Joseph, maintained a drug store. This building was destroyed in the severe fire of October 13, 1844. Dr. Brewer built another house beside the present site of the South Congregational Church, which was subsequently occupied by his son Henry. This building was demolished April 5, 1892, but a picture of it may be found on page seventy-eight of Chapin's *Sketches of Old Inhabitants*.

Dr. Brewer was a religious man, and joined the First Church in 1781, and was for many years a deacon. He was also active in civic affairs. With Dr. Moses Morse of Worthington, he was one of the twenty-one members of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774-75, and was one of the two delegates to the first Hatfield Convention. He declined to serve as a Representative to the General Court in 1780, and again in 1781.

Slowly but steadily medicine has progressed from the simple practice of those early days of the city to the complex scientific organization which is today serving our population. How Pynchon, Moxon, Glover, or any of these other medical pioneers would marvel if they were to visit in our Springfield of today, any of our five hospitals, approved by the American Medical Association and by the American College of Surgeons. One wonders what future progress in this field of activity the next century will bring forth.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Famous Folks of Western Massachusetts

By L. L. Campbell

MASSACHUSETTS people are justly proud of the record that the Bay State has made in the last three hundred years in the fields of education, literature, religion, statesmanship, invention and industry. Western Massachusetts has done her full share in establishing this enviable record.

It has been said that if a person stood on the summit of West Mountain in Plainfield and turned to all points of the compass, there would fall within his vision, towns and cities that had been the birthplace or residence at some time in their lives, of more famous men and women than any other area of equal dimensions in the United States.

In compiling this roster of famous people, little or no attention has been paid to chronology, but simply the recording of the fact of the one-time residence of the persons mentioned.

Let us imagine that we are actually standing on the summit of West Mountain. First, we look northward toward the little town of Heath in Franklin County, birthplace of Rev. Joshua Leavitt, a great anti-slavery advocate; associate of William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. He was both a preacher and an editor. At one time he was editor of an abolitionist publication called the *Liberator*, and also the *Emancipator* and later the *New York Independent*. Mr. Leavitt organized the first Sunday school in Heath that was ever established in this part of the country. Heath was also the home of Col. Hugh Maxwell, an officer in the American Revolution. He took an active part in several battles that finally resulted in the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne to Gen. Gates at Saratoga.

In the same direction a little nearer at hand is the town of Hawley, the birthplace of Jonas King. He learned to read at the bedside of his invalid father. History states that he read the Bible through at the age of five. He was one of the early missionaries to go out from the United States. He labored long among the Greeks and learned the Greek language and wrote several books in the original Greek. One was a history of Greece and some things in the book offended the people. One day a mob surrounded his house and began

to threaten him. Finally, he threw an American flag about his shoulders and stepped to the door. Seeing the flag they supposed him to be connected with the United States Government and quickly dispersed. He died in Athens in 1869, and the Greeks erected a monument to his memory.

At the very foot of this mountain stands the little town of Plainfield. One of the outstanding figures in the early days of this town was Rev. Moses Hallock, its first minister. He established the Hallock School where young men were tutored and fitted for college. Most of his students entered Williams, a few went to Yale. The influence of Mr. Hallock upon his young men was so strong that many of them became ministers or missionaries. From the fact that the first missionary meeting ever held in the United States was held on the campus of Williams College, near a haystack, now often referred to as "The Haystack Meeting" attended by five Williams students, some of whom are known to have been students from the Hallock School, would seem to establish the fact that the spirit of American missions was born in Plainfield, Massachusetts.

William Richards, formerly a student at the Hallock School in Plainfield and later one of the Williams College students that participated in the Haystack Meeting, became famous in after years. After his theological course at Andover, he was ordained at New Haven, Connecticut. He married Clarissa Lyman and they sailed as missionaries for the Sandwich Islands (now Hawaiian Islands) on November 19, 1822. He became influential advisor to the king of the islands and after fifteen years of civilizing and Christianizing the people, he aided in translating the Bible into their language. He entered the service of the country's government, gave shape and direction to their politics, and prepared a constitution and code of statutes for the nation. This remains a lasting monument to his memory. He was appointed minister plenipotentiary of the King to Europe and the United States. Mr. Richards was accompanied to this country by Prince Haalilio, heir apparent to the throne of Hawaii, and together they visited Plainfield, an event of course of great interest to the townspeople. Among the notable men who attended the Hallock School we find the name of Marcus Whitman, who rode horseback across the country to save Oregon. Also that of Jonas King above mentioned, William Cullen Bryant, one of America's best loved poets. Another notable character of Plainfield was Joseph Beals, immortalized by The American Tract Society in a pamphlet called *The Mountain Miller*. He conducted a gristmill in the south part of the town. He was an exceedingly religious man and while the stones were grinding the corn, it was not unusual for him to kneel on the floor of his mill and pray for the soul of his customer in case he was an unconverted man.

Mrs. Martha Lamb, the historian, was born in Plainfield. She wrote several historical books and was editor at one time of *The Magazine of American History*. She was a member of twenty-seven historical societies.

Another famous man from this town was Charles Dudley Warner, who was the author of many juvenile books. He was at one time editor of *Scribner's Magazine* and later the *Hartford Courant*. Plainfield has sent out a number of missionaries of prominence, David Rood, Stephen Pixley, William Richards and Dr. Lora G. Dyer who is at present in charge of a large hospital in Foochow, China.

Looking now in a northwesterly direction we see the little town of Savoy the birthplace of Rabbit Maranville the noted baseball player formerly of the National League.



Capt. Jared Hunt House, Westhampton

Turning in a southerly direction, we observe the town of Cummington and at once think of the poet Bryant who was born in the Cummington hills. Bryant would have been famous if he had composed no other poem than *Thanatopsis* which was his work when a lad of but seventeen. Many people doubted it could be the work of a boy or even any American poet until the fact was proven. Bryant later became one of our best loved poets.

Cummington was the birthplace of Senator Henry L. Dawes, one of the most influential figures in Washington politics for some thirty years.

This town was also the birthplace of Worcester R. Warner, born in 1846. He spent his boyhood on the farm but was always interested in spy glasses and telescopes and finally became a telescope manu-

facturer. His company built a thirty-six-inch telescope for the Lick Observatory in California, a sixty-inch for the National Observatory of Argentine and a seventy-two-inch for the government of Canada. Mr. Warner became wealthy and did much for his native town.

Prof. Eugene Lyman a noted educator was a native of Cummington. He is now connected with the Union Theological Seminary in New York.

A little farther in the same general direction our eyes rest on the hills of Worthington, the birthplace of Dr. Russell Conwell—Soldier, Lawyer, Minister, Lecturer, College President, Philanthropist. A captain in the Civil War, he practiced law for a limited time: entered the ministry and for many years was pastor of Grace Baptist Temple, one of the largest churches in Philadelphia. He was one of the most popular lecturers that ever stood on a platform. One of his lectures *Acres of Diamonds* he gave more than 6,000 times. All money received from his lectures he devoted to the education of poor young men. He established and was president of Temple College in Philadelphia and he also established Samaritan Hospital in the same city which is a wonderful boon to the poor.

Worthington was the summer home of Judge Elisha H. Brewster of the United States District Court of Massachusetts.

Slightly to the southeast is the town of Chesterfield. W. L. Higgins was born in this town. He later removed to Connecticut and there entered upon a political career. For fourteen years he represented his town in the legislature, two years in the state senate, he was Secretary of State for four years and served four years as congressman.

Elijah H. Mills was born in Chesterfield. He was educated at Williams College, studied law and moved to Northampton where he opened his law office. He was later elected to many political offices and was finally elected United States Senator for Northampton.

Toward the west we see the town of Dalton, home of Winthrop Murray Crane, Lieutenant Governor, Governor, United States Senator: Silent, deep thinking, far seeing statesman; seldom if ever making a public speech, yet a statesman of profound influence. Very close friend and advisor of Calvin Coolidge when the latter was climbing the ladder of fame. The paper on which our paper money is printed has for years been made in Dalton in the mill of the Crane family.

Byron Weston was a very widely known manufacturer of this town.

Just beyond Dalton is the town of Hinsdale, birthplace of R. H. White, the Boston merchant. This was also the birthplace of Jessie Snow, the girl who at age fifteen had developed into a wonderful painter without aid of a teacher.

Slightly to the north we see the town of Cheshire. For many years Rev. John Leland a Baptist minister preached here. Leland is the man who went to Virginia to help the Baptists of that state

in organizing their churches when there was an effort being made to make Episcopal the State Church of Virginia. History states that it was through his influence that a bill was introduced into the Virginia legislature which finally culminated in Congress adopting the amendment to the Constitution known as The Bill of Rights. The Sons of the American Revolution have erected a monument to Leland in Cheshire.

A little to the north lies the town of Adams, one time home of Susan B. Anthony, one of the pioneer advocates of women's suffrage, or Woman's Rights as it was called in her day. Miss Anthony did not live to see her dream come true but she has been immortalized in literature as a book has been published of her life entitled *The Woman Who Changed the Mind of a Nation*.

Still farther north we see the city of North Adams, birthplace of Hiram Sibley, the first president of the Western Union Telegraph Company. This city was for a time the home of George W. Mowbray who invented nitroglycerin and who superintended its use in the construction of Hoosac Tunnel. Allen B. Wilson inventor of the Wheeler & Wilson sewing machine lived for a time here and built the hotel known as the Wilson House.

A little to the west lies Williamstown, home of Ephraim Williams a colonel in the French and Indian wars. He was in charge of all the forts west of the Connecticut River. Colonel Williams was a very forceful and dominant personality. He founded Williams College in 1793.

Looking due west from our hilltop we see the town of Lanesboro which was the birthplace of Henry W. Shaw, better known as "Josh Billings", who was at once a philosopher and humorist. His books are like a medicine to the despondent. Governor Briggs who at one time was a member of Congress was a native of Lanesboro.

In the same general direction is the city of Pittsfield. In the early days of the town the minister was Rev. Thomas Allen "The Fighting Parson" of the Battle of Bennington. Reverend Allen loved politics, and history tells that the congregation said he preached more politics than gospel. Finally the church was divided. Maj. Gen. Wm. T. Bartlett a very prominent citizen of Pittsfield was several times elected lieutenant governor: a Civil War officer and an able lawyer. Hon. Thomas Plunkett another resident of Pittsfield was a leading cotton manufacturer. He was an intimate friend of President McKinley and after the death of the president he caused a McKinley monument to be erected in his native town of Adams.

A little to the south and closer at hand is the city of Westfield, home of General Shepherd of Revolutionary fame. After the close of that war it was General Shepherd who was in charge of the troops that prevented Shay's Rebellion from capturing the United States Arsenal at Springfield. Westfield was the home of Hon. Frederick H. Gillett who for many years represented the Second Massachusetts District in Congress, was later elected Speaker of the House and

finally was chosen United States Senator. Westfield was also the home of Gov. Joseph B. Ely. Another prominent citizen of Westfield is Charles M. Gardner. As a young man he was engaged in newspaper work. Later in life for many years he filled the exalted position of High Priest of Demeter, a very high office connected with the National Grange.

Just this side of Westfield is the town of Southampton. This town was for several years, during his boyhood, the home of Rev.



Recorder of Deeds Building, Lanesborough

Washington Gladden, the eminent Congregational clergyman. He has written a number of the favorite hymns in our church hymn books. While a student at Williams College he wrote what was later adopted as the Alma Mater song of the college, *The Mountains*.

In the same general direction a little nearer is Easthampton, the birthplace of Samuel Williston founder of Williston Academy. He was the son of a minister and grew to be a fine type of a Christian gentleman, of the old school. He became wealthy as a manufacturer and did much good with his money. History tells us that he saved Amherst College when that institution badly needed funds. He also gave generously to Mount Holyoke Seminary in its early days. Another prominent citizen of Easthampton was Lt. Gov. Horatio G. Knight. John Payson Williston the inventor of the well known Paysons Indelible Ink was born in Easthampton in 1803. He was the son of the Rev. Payson Williston, Easthampton's first minister.

Still nearer in the same direction is the town of Westhampton the birthplace of Sylvester Judd, the historian. Col. Ethan Allen of Green Mountain Boys fame spent some time in this town. Sylvester Judd was at one time part owner of the *Hampshire Gazette*. Upon the death of his brother he became editor. He was a very exemplary man and his paper reflected his character. No space was given to scandal or idle gossip or even stories. He felt that a newspaper should educate and give moral uplift to the people. At one time the *Gazette* had the largest circulation in the state with the exception of the *Worcester Spy*. Sylvester Judd wrote an excellent history of Hadley, Massachusetts, but died before it was published. The manuscripts are the property of the Forbes Library.

Westhampton was the birthplace of Nathan Hale, 2d, nephew of Nathan Hale the Revolutionary martyr. He removed to Boston and became a journalist. Among other papers he published the *Daily Advertiser*, the first and for many years the only daily newspaper in New England. He was the father of Rev. Edward Everett Hale, the noted Unitarian preacher. Rev. Enoch Hale, a brother of the martyr, was pastor of the Westhampton Church for more than fifty years.

Slightly to the south we see Williamsburg and Haydenville. Collins Graves the hero of the Mill River flood was a resident of this town and his prompt and daring action saved many lives from the rushing waters. William Skinner the silk manufacturer, whose goods are known the world over, was a resident of Haydenville, at the time his factory was destroyed by the abovementioned flood. Another prominent resident of Haydenville was Lt. Gov. Joel Hayden.

Slightly to the east is the city of Northampton and here we find a long list of famous folks. In the colonial period Caleb Strong was a man of great power and influence not only in Northampton but in Massachusetts. Eleven times he was elected governor. A record never excelled and equaled but once, and that by John Hancock who served the same number of terms. Governor Strong was elected a member of the Continental Congress also the Constitutional Convention. One of the first United States Senators from Massachusetts. Another outstanding character in those days was Gen. Joseph Hawley, after whom Hawley Street and Hawley Grammar School are named. The Town of Hawley was named for him. ♦

Soldier-patriot-statesman, friend of Patrick Henry. History states that Hawley was one of the first of the colonists to announce his belief that the colonies should fight for their liberty. One historian states that it was General Hawley who inspired Patrick Henry to make that immortal speech "Give me Liberty or give me Death!" Hawley had much to do with framing the constitution of Massachusetts and legislators often turned to him for advice.

Prominent also in those days in Northampton was Gen. Seth Pomeroy. A commanding figure in the Colonial wars. Some one said of him that his presence on a battlefield was worth a regiment of

soldiers. Not only a great soldier but a blacksmith, a gunsmith and a farmer. General Pomeroy while working in his field, on learning that a battle with the British was imminent, although over seventy years of age, mounted his horse and set out for Boston. He rode all night changing horses of Framingham, reached Bunker Hill in time to take part in the fight. He is buried in Peekskill, New York, but his sword has been given to Seth Pomeroy Chapter Sons of the American Revolution and is kept in the vault of the Forbes Library. For many years Northampton was the home of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, an eminent divine and a profound theologian. While he preached a rather severe doctrine his influence on the people both far and near was very great and he is quoted in many pulpits even today. Parkman the historian, speaking of the eighteenth century, says there were two men already known in Europe, Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Edwards. Historian John Fiske referring to Jonathan Edwards says "He is one of the wonders of the world, probably the greatest intelligence the Western Hemisphere has yet seen." Jonathan Edwards was the minister of Northampton from 1727 to 1750. Born in East Windsor, Connecticut, in 1703; as a child it became apparent that he had a very brilliant mind. He studied Latin at the age of six. When eleven, he wrote a reply to some one who had claimed that the soul of man was material. He entered Yale before he was thirteen and graduated at seventeen, with the highest honors. He remained as a tutor at Yale for two years. In 1727 he married Sarah Pierpont a daughter of a Yale trustee. That same year he was called to the Northampton church. Though he preached an uncompromising doctrine, he developed into a profound theologian as well as a deep student of metaphysics. During the winter of 1734-5 Jonathan Edwards preached a series of evangelistic sermons that caused a great revival of religion not only in America but it spread to Europe. It was referred to as "The Great Awakening". Prominent ministers from far and near even foreign countries came to Northampton to see and talk with Jonathan Edwards. His daughter Esther married Aaron Burr who was president of the College of New Jersey (later called Princeton College). One son was born to them, Aaron Burr 2d. Both parents died while the child was very young. Jonathan Edwards was chosen president of the College of New Jersey but lived but a short time. Death came in 1758 in his fifty-fifth year. This town was the home of Rev. Timothy Dwight a grandson of Jonathan Edwards. A lawyer, a minister who preached for a time in Greenfield Hill, Connecticut, he was finally called to be president of Yale University. He also wrote some of our popular hymns. Another grandson of Jonathan Edwards was Aaron Burr, 2d, who lived in Northampton with his aunt, Mrs. Dwight for a time after the death of his father who had been president of Princeton. In later life Burr was elected Vice President with Thomas Jefferson. Two other famous sons of Northampton were the brothers, Prof. William Dwight Whitney and Josiah Dwight Whitney. Their mother was a sister of Rev. Timothy

Dwight, president of Yale. Prof. William Whitney became professor of Sanskrit at Yale in 1854. He was president of the American Oriental Society for ten years. He assisted Noah Webster, materially in compiling *Webster's Dictionary*, much of which work was done in Amherst and Northampton. Later Professor Whitney was editor-in-chief of the *Century Dictionary*. Professor Josiah Whitney has made valuable geological surveys of Ohio, the Lake Superior region, Mississippi and California. In the latter state he calculated the height of what proved to be the highest mountain in the United States, nearly 15,000 ft. and it was named, for the Northampton man, Mount Whitney. Professor Whitney received a part of his education in the Bancroft School on Round Hill. Most people in the United States use Graham flour in one form or another, yet few know or realize the product originated in Northampton, but such was the case. Sylvester Graham, a dyspeptic, lived on Pleasant Street and died there in 1851. He discovered that wheat ground to a certain degree of fineness, was not only very nutritious but helpful in digestive trouble. He had a local mill grind wheat in that manner and it was forever called Graham Flour. Sereno Dwight, son of Timothy, born here became president of Hamilton College. Ralph Waldo Emerson was at one time minister of the Unitarian church in this city. William Allen lived at one time on King Street, later became president of Dartmouth and still later president of Bowdoin College. When Northampton celebrated her 200th anniversary in 1854, President Allen gave the principal address. Governor Hunt of Alabama lived here in his boyhood days. Admiral Cook who commanded the Battleship *Brooklyn* during the Spanish-American War was born on Bridge Street, lived here as a young man and spent his last days at his former home in Northampton. History states that he was a very efficient commander. Franklin Pierce the fourteenth President of the United States lived in Northampton for a time and obtained his legal education at the law school kept by Senator Mills and Judge Howe. George Bancroft the historian conducted a school for young men on Round Hill, attended by several who became famous in later years. Among them, Henry Ward Beecher, Thomas Appleton, brother-in-law of the poet Longfellow, Samuel Ward, brother of Julia Ward Howe. Bancroft was a politician as well as an educator. He served as Secretary of the Navy in the cabinet of President Polk and history informs us that it was largely through Bancroft's influence that the Naval Academy at Annapolis was established. He was the author of an excellent *History of The United States*. John Clarke, a descendant of the early settler Lt. William Clarke, became wealthy as a merchant in early Northampton and presented Northampton with the iron fence around the Bridge Street Cemetery, the Clarke Library and Memorial Hall and finally endowed Clarke School for the Deaf. Rev. Irving Maurer, former minister at Edwards Church, became president of Beloit in Wisconsin. Rev. Lyman Powell, former rector of St. John's Church was elected president of Hobart College. Professor McCracken of Smith,

was chosen president of Vassar College. Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, was for several years president of Clarke School and spent much time in Northampton. It is said that he obtained some valuable ideas for his invention from his contact with the deaf children. Miss Caroline Yale, for many years principal of Clarke School, was widely known as the foremost teacher of lip reading for deaf mutes. Miss Ada Comstock, for many years connected with Smith, was chosen president of Radcliffe College. Prof. J. Seelye Bixler of Smith College was elected president of Colby College. Prof. Laurence Seelye of Smith was chosen president of St. Lawrence College. Judge Charles E. Forbes, who endowed Forbes Library for Northampton, was an honored son of this city. The Forbes Library stands fourth in the state in point of size, and fortieth among the more than seven thousand free public libraries in the United States. Conrad Thibault, the popular concert and radio singer, was born here and graduated from our high school. William Powell, the actor, was a member of the Northampton Players and spent several years here. The most outstanding citizen of Northampton is, of course, Calvin Coolidge, former President of the United States: Quiet, unassuming, a profound thinker, a wise administrator. From a farm boy, to the highest office within the gift of the people of the most powerful, the richest and withal the most beneficent nation on the face of the earth, he makes a very interesting study. After graduating from Amherst College he began his law studies here in Northampton. His natural modesty is shown by the following: while a law student, the National Society Sons of the American Revolution offered a prize to the young man who would write the best essay on the cause of the Revolutionary War. Calvin Coolidge entered the contest and won the prize. He was so modest that he had not even told his father until the gold medal was discovered in his desk by one of the lawyers with whom he was studying. After his six years in the White House, Calvin Coolidge left the presidency with as universal respect, high regard and untarnished honor as any President in the history of our country. History states that Northampton has furnished more United States Senators than any other city outside of Boston. Caleb Strong, Isaac C. Bates, Elijah H. Mills and Eli P. Ashmun have been elected senators from this city. Northampton has long been and still is the home of many people of literary talent. In addition to historian Bancroft let us add the names of George W. Cable, historian James R. Trumbull, Gerald Stanley Lee, Jeanette Lee, Eve Owen Cochran, Elane Goodale, Grace Hazard Conklin, Earl Looker, and others. Among Northampton boys who have achieved fame in the world of music is Roger Sessions who lived at 109 Elm Street, where his mother was head of a college house. Young Sessions has devoted his life to writing music and has succeeded in producing many compositions that have received the approval of the most severe critics. Charles Skilton, who formerly lived on King Street after his years at Yale, went to Lawrence, Kansas, and associated himself with the

Indian school in that city. He made a special study of the music of the Indians and from accounts has developed it in a remarkable manner. Amelia Earhart, the noted aviatrix who was lost in the Pacific, lived in Northampton on Bedford Terrace for a year or two while her sister was in college here.

A little to the east, across the Connecticut, we see the old town of Hadley, which during the Colonial period, harbored the regicides, Goffe and Whalley. General Goffe came out of hiding and took



The Old Manse, Deerfield

command of the Colonial soldiers and succeeded in driving away a tribe of Indians who had come to massacre the people at a church service. After the Indians fled, Goffe silently withdrew. The surprised people did not know who he was, where he came from or whither he went, but they were devoutly thankful that a trained officer should appear at that time. Some thought it to be a divine act. Coming down to Civil War days, a prominent Hadley man was Gen. Joseph Hooker. Often referred to as "Fighting Joe Hooker". He was with Sherman when he was "Marching Through Georgia". Bishop Huntington was a son of Hadley. He changed from the Congregational to the Episcopal faith and later became Bishop of the Central New York diocese. Levi Stockbridge, born in Hadley, was for many years president of Massachusetts Agricultural College in Amherst, now the University of Massachusetts. Charles Lamson, for some years president of the American Board of Foreign Missions, was a son of

Hadley. A citizen of Hadley of whom the town is justly proud is Clarence Hawkes, the blind poet and author, whose books have delighted thousands. Another literary son of Hadley was Clifton Johnson, magazine writer and author of many books. His widow, Mrs. Johnson is a much travelled lady and is often called upon as a public speaker. Their son Capt. Irving Johnson has achieved much fame as a sailor, having piloted his own craft around the world several times. A little farther to the east lies the town of Amherst. For some years Noah Webster was a resident of this place and did much of his dictionary work here. A monument to his memory stands on the Amherst College campus, of which institution he was one of the founders. Amherst was the birthplace of Emily Dickinson, a poetess of wide fame. The 100th anniversary of her birth was celebrated in 1930. Eugene Field, the poet spent his boyhood days in this town. Field's poems, *Just Before Christmas* and *The Little Red Drum* as well as *Little Boy Blue* are very popular with most children. Helen Hunt Jackson the author was born in Amherst. Judge Harlan F. Stone of the United States Supreme Court spent a part of his life in this town. Rev. L. Clark Seelye, the first president of Smith College was a former resident of Amherst and was a professor in that college.

One of the prominent citizens of today is Ray Stannard Baker, friend and biographer of the late President Wilson. Julius Seelye and Osmun Baker, citizens of Amherst were elected to Congress.

On the hills back of Amherst lies the little town of Pelham, at one time the home of Daniel Shays the leader of "Shays' Rebellion". Shays was a former patriot and fought in the Revolution, but rebelled at the taxes and some other restrictions placed upon the people, gathered together a band of misguided followers and they made several raids and attempted to force their ideas upon the government. They made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the United States Arsenal at Springfield.

Still further to the east we see Belchertown, home of the poet J. G. Holland. As a boy Holland lived for a time in Florence, Massachusetts.

A little to the north we see the elevated town of Shutesbury, the home of a number of distinguished men among them Raymond, the organizer of the Raymond & Whitcomb excursions, thought to have been the first of its kind in this country. Ithma Conkey, the musician, was born in this town.

Back on this side of the Connecticut and a little nearer at hand, is what was once known as a rich farming town, Hatfield. A place that made much history in Colonial days: Home of Sophia Smith, founder of Smith College, whose birthplace is marked with a bronze tablet. The home also of her uncle Oliver Smith who founded Smith Charities, also the Smith Agricultural School.

A little nearer to our hilltop is Conway, the birthplace of Marshall Field who was destined to become the merchant prince of Chicago. The Field Memorial Library in this town is a beautiful building.

Another Conway notable was Chester Harding an American portrait painter born in this town in 1792. He painted the portraits of many prominent persons in Western Massachusetts especially in Northampton and Springfield, as well as many prominent politicians in Washington, Philadelphia and St. Louis. He also did considerable work in London. Another son of Conway was William C. Whitney who went to New York, became wealthy, and prominent in politics and was called to fill a place in the cabinet of Pres. Grover Cleveland.

Still closer in the same general direction we see Ashfield, the town proud to be referred to as the birthplace of Henry C. Payne. As a young man he was clerk in the Post Office in Shelburne Falls, and later a bookkeeper in Northampton. He removed to Milwaukee and became a very successful business man. He was appointed postmaster of that city and subsequently called to be Postmaster General in the cabinet of Pres. Theodore Roosevelt. Another Ashfield boy of whom the town is justly proud is G. Stanley Hall, the first president of Clark College of Worcester. Belding Brothers the well known silk manufacturers were Ashfield boys who started their business by buying silk and selling it from house to house. Dr. H. T. Perry for fifty years a missionary in Turkey and a teacher in the American schools there, was a son of Ashfield. Alvan Clark, born in this town became a renowned telescope manufacturer.

Northeast is the town of Buckland, birthplace of Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke Seminary, now Mount Holyoke College. Mary Lyon was a woman of broad intellect and high ideals; one of the first to believe in the higher education of women. Another citizen of Buckland who became famous was William F. Sherwin the musician. He wrote the music to more than one hundred hymns that are used in our Sunday schools and social religious meetings.

The writer does not claim to have made a complete roster of the famous folks in this area as without doubt some have been overlooked, but if we recapitulate those here recorded we find that there have lived, or are still living in this section of Massachusetts:

- 2 Presidents of the United States,
- 2 Vice Presidents,
- 8 United States Senators,
- 6 Governors,
- 4 Lieutenant Governors,
- 3 Members of Presidents' Cabinets,
- 11 Founders of Schools and Colleges,
- 15 College Presidents,
- 27 Poets and Authors,
- 9 Soldiers of high rank,
- 15 Prominent Ministers and Missionaries,
- 9 Very prominent business men,
- 4 Editors of wide fame,
- 3 Inventors of world known products,
- 9 Congressmen,
- 6 Musicians of prominence.

The editor considers this an appropriate place to record one fact relative to another famous personage,—a real American; an Indian chief of Stockbridge and friend of the early settlers. Yocum Pond in Becket was named in his honor.

From 1744 to at least 1758, he was in the confidence of the white people and insofar as he could comprehend it, he became a Christian. In common with all converts to the faith, he was on baptism, given a Biblical name, in this case Jehoiakim, and thereafter was commonly so called by the English. However, the Dutch of the valley had trouble with the English initial "J", pronouncing it quite like the letter "Y". Thus Jehoiakim became Yoakim and as it was carelessly slurred over, it became Yokum. To avoid any misunderstanding, in the many legal documents executed by him in connection with land sales, both names were invariably used. Hence in 1744 he appears as Jocom Yocon and in 1750 as Jehoiakim Yokim.

Actually, the name Yokum applied to the native, was merely the Dutch rendition of the name of a king of Judah as it appeared in the English Bible.

CHAPTER XL

Western Massachusetts Considers the Telephone

IN 1876 the nation celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its birth with a great exposition at Philadelphia, long known as "The Centennial." There was much to show and to see for in that hundred years more mechanical progress had been made than in any earlier period ten times that long. Before the American Revolution mankind had little but windmills and water-wheels to supply motive power. Now the steam engine supplied unlimited power. Where transportation was furnished by animals and wagons, railroads and steamboats now filled the need. In 1832 distance and time were annihilated by the telegraph. In 1836 friction matches replaced flint and steel and fluid chemicals for lighting fires. In 1839 the photographic process was perfected. The year 1842 brought the first bicycle, and four years later Howe perfected the sewing machine. In 1865 the motion picture projector was in actual use, and in 1868 businessmen welcomed the typewriter. In 1870 celluloid, the first of the plastics, came on the market, while five years later the public had its first sight of the new crude telephone.

Western Massachusetts people were much interested in the Centennial Exposition, partly because of the ease and comfort with which the journey could be made. All available steamboats were utilized for the service so that those of the Connecticut Valley could readily embark at Hartford while Berkshire people could go aboard at convenient Hudson River landings. Hence, instead of cramped, dusty, ill-lighted trains with poor dining service the travelers were offered roomy cabins with ample beds, spacious dining rooms and opportunity for recreation while en route.

One of the most intriguing attractions of the exhibit was the first public showing of Prof. Alexander Graham Bell's telephone. Bell himself must have been one of the world's greatest optimists and spellbinders to have had the presumption and temerity to expect the public to understand and accept such a crude and unfinished creation as he offered. It simply was not taken seriously, being classed as merely an interesting toy for which there could be no practical use whatever. For more than forty years the telegraph had filled every need and in the opinion of the wise it was the last word, and there was no call or room for anything supplemental.

Professor Bell had a faith and enthusiasm that would not be gainsaid. He associated himself with a Providence journalist named

Frederic A. Gower whose talents were apparently those of a publicity man, some of whose copy and methods were surprisingly akin to those of a modern radio commercialist in technique. While it was apparent that the instrument would operate for a short distance as from room to room of a building, the efforts of both the inventor and the promoter were concentrated on the task of convincing prospective customers that it would operate equally well over a reasonable distance, hence the early adoption of their oft-repeated slogan referring to messages sent "over fifty miles of wire."

Following the closing of the "Centennial," Bell and his assistant returned to their Boston headquarters with ambitious plans for breaking down sales resistance, operating in one limited area at a time. The first attempt was from Boston to Providence and the results seem to have been sufficiently encouraging so that in May, 1877, Western Massachusetts was taken in hand. The promotion member of the project first arranged for a demonstration preceded by sufficient newspaper publicity so that the public might be well aware of what to expect. Hence, on Tuesday, May 9, 1877, there appeared in the Springfield *Republican*, a one and one-half inch, single column, advertising "card" reading as follows:

"City Hall, Springfield,
And Academy of Music, Pittsfield,
United by Telephone,
Saturday Evening, May 12.

"Words and Music over 50 miles of wire. Two audiences hearing together. Brief opening explanation by Prof. Bell. Cornet and Organ Solos and Vocal Solos and Duets through the Telephone from Westfield for both audiences. Informal Tests and Conversation between citizens of Springfield and Pittsfield.

"Admission 25 cents; Reserved Seats 10 cents extra. Tickets for sale at Gorham & Wood's Music Store on Friday morning."

This was preceded on May 8th, by a news item of similar import and was followed by others on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday. On Monday, May 14th, the *Republican* printed an "Editorial" a bit more than a column in length, the choice of words and the phrasing of it being so characteristic of the clever Mr. Gower that one realizes that he must have been the author. Certainly no small-town journalist had sufficient technical knowledge to have composed it.

The newspaper items tell a complete story of the episode:

"Springfield, Tuesday, May 8, 1877.

"The details of the telephonic exhibition Saturday evening have been arranged. Prof. Bell is to be stationed in the City Hall, which is to be connected with the Pittsfield Academy of Music, with Westfield as the way station and words and music are to be transmitted over fifty miles of wire. Of course the exhibition will be worthy of

our best patronage. Boston and Providence have been showing an untiring interest in the wonderful invention and the most distinguished people have introduced and indorsed it. The choice of the evening is a very wise one and popular prices give opportunity for everybody to see the telephone in operation."

"Springfield, Wednesday, May 9, 1877.

"The program for the telephone exhibition at the City Hall Saturday evening will be a brief explanatory lecture by Prof. Bell and then for an hour a concert of vocal solos and duets, cornet solos and organ-playing to be sent through the telephone from Westfield. Afterward, there will be a series of conversations between citizens of this city and Pittsfield via telephone, with other special tests. The wire will be stretched from the City Hall to the Western Union office today. Tickets go on sale at Gorham & Wood's Friday."

"Springfield, Thursday, May 10, 1877.

"There are to be four telephones at the City Hall Saturday evening so that the concert at Westfield may be heard to the best advantage. Some of our prominent citizens are to talk with Judge Colt and others at Pittsfield over fifty miles of wire. A considerable Northampton party is coming down to the novel performance."

"Springfield, Friday, May 11, 1877.

"The telephone concert tomorrow evening is exciting considerable interest, both in this city and at Pittsfield and also at Westfield, where a select few are to occupy the telegraph office, to hear what takes place at the two ends of the line, and Lawyer Gillett will talk and a chorus sing for the benefit of the two larger audiences. A train will be run after the concert from this city to Easthampton and Northampton and a delegation from Williston Seminary will thus be able to attend the concert."

"Springfield, Saturday, May 12, 1877.

"A big audience at both ends of the telephone exhibition this evening is assured as Prof. Bell goes into New York state to lecture at once, this is likely to be our only opportunity of testing the new telephone for some time to come, and then there will be no fun in seeing it after everybody else has got used to it."

"EDITORIAL.

"Springfield, Monday, May 14, 1877.

"The Miracle of the Telephone.

"When the words 'What hath God wrought' flashed through the first Morse wire, the nation too was electrified with a thrill of interest full of awe for the mysterious achievement (few unimportant

words deleted) and Prof. Bell's confident expectation that he will shortly be able to send his voice across the Atlantic and talk with men three thousand miles away as readily as if they were in the same room, meets with no such incredulous and satiric bearing as Cyrus W. Field's first proposal to lay an Atlantic cable twenty years ago. The 'telephone' instrument aims to reproduce tones at a distance by means of electro-magnetism but the only ones of consequence are of Elisha Gray of Chicago and Prof. Bell. The first of these is the one lately employed to give a concert in New York by means of an instrument played in Philadelphia and while it is very interesting it does not offer the promise of development and value which attaches to the Bell telephone. Mr. Gray's apparatus comprises a sending and a receiving instrument; the former is in the shape of a two-octave key-board, where keys are attached to tuning forks, each of which transmits its own tone. The receiver consists of a sounding box supporting an electro magnet and a tuning fork, each note of course having its own box, magnet and tuning fork. The magnets are placed in the circuit of a battery. The musical tones are transmitted by a make-and-break system as telegraphic signals usually are and the instrument can only produce the pitch and intensity, not the quality of the notes. There is not the least chance to confuse this ingenious invention with the more important one of Prof. A. G. Bell's, by which the use of a battery is wholly discontinued, and the human voice or the tone of an instrument is itself made the means of generating the electric current and reproducing itself in all its characteristics of pitch, intensity and quality at a distance of hundreds of miles. This instrument of Prof. Bell's is extremely simple and both sends and receives the sounds. It consists of an ordinary electro-magnet mounted before a membrane of steel in a sounding box and connected with a telegraph wire. It can be used and was used the other evening in connection with a battery, transmitting music from a telephonic organ by means of small steel points touching the reeds of the instrument and each communicating with the wire. By this means musical tones and chords are produced at the receiving end of the wire, but its distinguishing achievements require no battery and could not, in fact be attained with one.

"To send the tones of the human voice, the instrument is disconnected, with the battery and the circuit made through the earth. The message is then uttered in a funnel leading into the sounding box and the sound-waves of the voice, striking upon the membrane within are instantaneously converted into magnetic-electric vibrations along the wire and at the other end of the circuit are reproduced with distinctness, and with their characteristics so preserved that the speaker can be recognized.

"Of course these results are as yet imperfect for the invention is in its very infancy but its marvelous character needs no emphasizing. The most remarkable test so far occurred in New Haven, in a company including members of the faculty of Yale College. Instead of making connection with the earth, a second wire was used for the

return circuit and the wires were extended from a telephone through several apartments into a room. The practical uses of the invention are suggesting themselves already. But that the conversational uses of the telephone are, even in its present imperfect condition, equal to genuine usefulness seems obvious. Among the purposes to which it will be applied first are for conveying intelligence in mines, which is already under consideration and communicating from one office with a large number of factories for which a prominent New England manufacturer intends to utilize it as soon as may be and for the benefit of divers beneath the ocean. The size of the telephone sounding box is of small consequence and a complete instrument may be made not larger than the palm of the hand. Such a one could easily be attached to the diver's armour in a way to allow him at any time to speak with the assistant above and its value in that instance is plain. We do not understand that it is Prof. Bell's intention as yet to manufacture the instruments, but it will eventually have to be done.

"How sound waves can generate magnetic waves, and still more strange how these can be far off and instantly reconverted into sound waves, with their every characteristic accurately preserved, is one of the most baffling mysteries which electricity presents to our consideration.

"One of the strange incidental experiences of the telephone indicates in a manner actually weird and magical, a possible entrance into new penetralia, for in listening there came to the ear, inexplicable noises like the bubbling of water or like the crackling of fire or something like the hum of a crowd,—noises not of the nature of that dull hum which comes when one applies a sea shell to the ear, but wild and incomprehensible and suggesting that nature's elemental forces were surprised at work."

"Monday, May 14, 1877.

"The telephone concert at the City Hall Saturday night was entirely a success in showing the nature and workings of the invention, although the instrument is not yet advanced enough to transmit speech or music for any public purpose. There was one telephone on the platform and two others at other points of the City Hall where an exceptionally full audience was gathered only one of these being used at a time. Another was at the telegraph office in Westfield and yet another at the Academy of Music in Pittsfield where there was a smaller audience than in this city. Prof. A. Graham Bell, the inventor made a brief address in this city and his assistant, Mr. Gower, late of the *Providence Press*, a similar one at Pittsfield, explaining the nature of the instrument, which is a wooden box somewhat smaller than an ordinary photographer's camera containing simply a plate of iron and a horseshoe magnet wrapped about with wire from a voltaic electric battery. The vibration of the reed of a cabinet organ at Westfield causing the plate of iron in the telephone there to vibrate against the magnet, a current of electricity was

formed extending to the magnet in the Springfield telephone, which would cause the vibration of the plate of iron and that would cause vibrations of the air and sound rapidly, with vibrations of the reed in the cabinet organ. Not only notes but chords were transmitted, thus making it possible to send as many messages as musical notes can be distinguished. The playing of the cabinet organ at Westfield resulted in the reproduction of the tunes at this city and Pittsfield, rather more faintly than the original but still clearly distinguishable except when the inevitable late-comers disturbed the audience. The reproduction was rather more audible in this city than at Pittsfield, the telegraph line at this end being made with soldered joints, but with merely twisted joints from Westfield to Pittsfield. For the transmission of the cornet music and vocal notes, however, where the sound is all concentrated at the orifice of the telephone, the battery is found to be needless and indeed, an impediment, the sound waves producing the necessary magnetism for their own transmission in some unexplained way. A cornet solo at Westfield, accordingly was heard at both ends of the line and a cornet on the City Hall platform was heard faintly at Pittsfield. Prof. Bell carried on conversation with the operator at Westfield and with Mr. Gower at Pittsfield, their words being audible but indistinguishable to the audience and a subsequent attempt to address the Springfield audience resulted only in a low hum, in which the intonations of the voice could be distinguished. Prof. Bell remarked that the possibilities of the telephone were only partly known, but Saturday night's experiments gave a satisfactory idea of what it is hoped to accomplish by it. The public is indebted to Mr. George H. Cary of the First Pittsfield Grammar School for its evening with the telephone, and we regret to learn that he is likely to lose money by his venture. The audience at the Pittsfield end was a losing one and our big hall full does not make its expected returns."

"Springfield, Wednesday, May 23, 1877.

"Mr. Fred A. Gower, the agent for Prof. Bell's telephone is at the Haynes House today, where he will be ready to consult with local parties wishing to introduce telephones for purposes of business or experiment. Arrangements have been completed more speedily than was expected for making this invention available for practical uses. Thus, the *Boston Herald* people are planning to distribute telephones over their projected building instead of speaking tubes, and the Pacific Mills at Lawrence will also avail themselves of the telephone. The advantages are apparent and the prices are made very reasonable, two telephones being introduced between dwelling houses for social purposes for \$20. a year, while a pair of business telephones cost but \$40. The instruments will not get out of order and it seems destined to do away very largely with the telegraph for local business."

“Springfield, Thursday, May 24, 1877.

“Several proprietors of large business concerns and manufactories in this city and Holyoke examined the telephone yesterday and were so favorably impressed with it that the prospect is that as soon as the inventor is ready to introduce them, quite a number will be wanted for these two cities.”

“Friday, June 1, 1877.

“The Whiting Paper Company always have the latest improvements and they now have put telephones into their two mills, the wire that was put up last year for their telegraph machine being used and so arranged that either the telegraph or the instruments can be used. The boys haven’t practiced enough yet to use it fluently, but by dint of talking slowly and distinctly they get along all right. Two firms on opposite sides of High street have also provided themselves with a telephone, consisting of a cord, with the cover of a paper-collar box at each end, and say they can converse with ease by means of it.”

“Monday, June 25, 1877.

“The telephone at the Whiting Mill has been taken out and one of a new pattern substituted for it which is thought to be a considerable improvement.”

Following the Western Massachusetts demonstration, a similar one was staged between Boston and Lawrence, a distance of twenty-seven miles. Much more generous advertising space carried an invitation to see the operation of “the miracle of the age.” Increasing confidence in the proposition led the sponsors to increase the fee for “cards of admission” from twenty-five to thirty-five cents while reserved seats cost fifty cents as compared to thirty-five cents at Springfield.

From such humble beginnings seventy-two years ago, the telephone system as we know it today, has made constant progress and improvement. Within a few months after these preliminary negotiations were completed, the Springfield exchange had been set up with one hundred subscribers paying two dollars per month to rent the instruments and eleven dollars per year for the use of the exchange. The site of the original Springfield Exchange was in a small room in the Haynes Opera House on Pyncheon Street now occupied by the Capitol Theatre. Through the years the company moved to various larger quarters, finally making its home at the corner of Worthington and Dwight Streets. Over 1,400 people are now employed by the Springfield Exchange satisfying the needs of more than 81,000 subscribers. Little did Prof. Bell dream seventy-two years ago that the crude telephone of that era would provide employment for so many and benefit mankind so generously.

After graduating at Yale, S. F. B. Morse of Charlestown, Massachusetts, went to Europe to study painting, returning to New York in 1815 where he successfully followed his career. He became interested in electricity and by 1835 had developed the telegraph instru-

CITY HALL, LAWRENCE, MASS.
Monday Evening, May 28

THE MIRACLE

TELEPHONE

WONDERFUL **DISCOVERY**

TELEPHONE

OF THE AGE

Prof. A. Graham Bell, assisted by Mr. Frederic A. Gower, will give an exhibition of his wonderful and miraculous discovery **The Telephone**, before the people of Lawrence as above, when Boston and Lawrence will be connected via the Western Union Telegraph and vocal and instrumental music and conversation will be transmitted a distance of 27 miles and received by the audience in the City Hall.

Prof. Bell will give an explanatory lecture with this marvellous exhibition.

Cards of Admission, 35 cents
Reserved Seats, 50 cents

Sale of seats at Stratton's will open at 9 o'clock.

ment and in 1838 asked Congress to build an experimental line from Washington to Baltimore, but his petition was denied. He was about to give up and seek aid in Europe, when Congress, on the last day of the session, March 3, 1843, appropriated \$30,000 with which the line was built and on May 24, 1844, the well-remembered message was sent from the Capitol at Washington to the awe-struck listeners at Baltimore,—“What hath God wrought”.

America accepted the telegraph wholeheartedly for it was so patently adapted to a land of great spaces. Time and distance were annihilated, leaving the railways figuratively by the wayside. Where

such quantities of wire came from, as were required for so promptly constructing hundreds and hundreds of miles of line is a mystery, but it was provided from some source or other. The procuring and setting of poles was of course mere routine work for Americans, yet the speed with which construction was carried on was amazing. The year following the Baltimore experiment, the *United States Journal*, in the naive phraseology of the era, announced under the caption,—“Magnetic Telegraph,—We learn from Mr. Kendall that he has made arrangements for the putting up of the Magnetic Telegraph from Springfield, Mass. to Buffalo, N. Y., and that he entertains the opinion that in a few days he shall be able to make a contract with the same individual for the route from Boston to New York”.

In 1847 the New York *Tribune* announced that: “The posts are all erected for the Providence and Worcester Telegraph and a part of the wire has been placed. The workmen are making very good progress on the New Bedford, Taunton, Fall River and Providence line”.

That same year, the *Tribune* boasted that: “We present our readers this morning with upward of seven columns of close-printed matter received by telegraph. The Governor’s Message, we believe, is the most lengthy document which has ever been telegraphed entire for the New York press”.

On January 15, 1849, the *Tribune* announced that “the directors of the ‘Magnetic Telegraph Company’ whose line extends between Washington and New York have declared a semi-annual dividend of three per cent and one per cent upon the new stock created by the extension of the line across the North River into the City of New York. When will the unfortunate stockholders of the New York and Boston Telegraph Company finger a dividend? This line is one of the most profitable in the country, yet some unfathomable abyss seems to swallow up all the savings”.

During the following thirty years the public made increasing use of the telegraph and eventually visualized a chain of private exchanges similar to the telephone central offices of a later date. In 1876 the newspapers called for support of a plan “to establish a district telegraph company to connect business and dwelling houses with a central office”. A number of such installations were actually in being in Western Massachusetts when, in 1877 and the following years the telephone took over and relegated the telegraph to long distance fields.

Actually, the public was well aware of the possibility of utilizing the vibrations caused by the voice in transmitting the voice itself. One such case is of record in Holyoke in 1877, but before that, on September 22, 1876, the Springfield *Republican* reported that “the ‘lover’s telegraph’ has appeared on the street and the philosophy by which a whisper in a little tin box can be heard by a person fifty feet off at the end of a string and another box, puzzles many, including the elect. The name of the toy will probably sell it”.

Such toys were actually relied on in lieu of speaking tubes and such.



